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Chief Editor

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.

Associate Editors

DR. V. S. AGRAWALA

MR. S. A. SHERE

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A PANDYAN ISSUE OF PUNCH-MARKED PURĀNAS

BY MR. T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, MADRAS

A hoard of punch-marked silver *purāṇas* was found, on or about the 21st November 1940, in the course of weeding a field in Bodinaikkanur[1], near Madura, which was once the capital of one of the southernmost kingdoms of ancient India. When the hoard reached the Madras Government Museum for examination, preliminary to its acquisition as treasure trove, the pieces were cleaned just enough to rid them of the adherent grit but not enough to remove the verdigris, and it was only then that it was possible to make out roughly the symbols found punched on the pieces. What follows is based on impressions gathered on a preliminary inspection of the half-cleaned pieces : further study has to abide the termination of the War, the coins having been, on acquisition, stowed away for safety.

The hoard comprised 1138 silver *purāṇas* and four pieces of gold. Two of the gold pieces are cast flat, while the other two are but the halves of one piece which, cast and hammered hard, has been cut into two : none of the four pieces is of any numismatic interest, for even their weights do not seem to conform to any of the known standards.

All the *purāṇa* pieces are of silver and they are all rectangular,—the circular or oval shapes common in other finds being conspicuous by their absence. The corrosion that they have suffered seems to be uniform. Except perhaps for a score, the pieces seem to answer to one weight standard, the weights varying within the narrow range from 1·2428 gms. (= 19·2 grains) to 1·6618 gms. (= 25·6 grains) if the results of the weighing of a typical selection of coins may be depended on[2]. The symbols on both faces are punched. The obverse generally bears five symbols. The reverse shows only one symbol : it never varies and it appears on every piece. The hoard turns out, thus, to be quite homogeneous : it is difficult to point to any other hoard which can be said to be equally homogeneous in character.

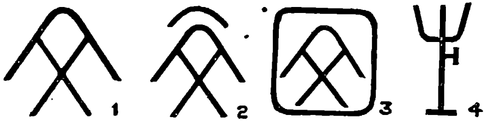
The pieces do not seem to have had an opportunity of mingling with coins of one or more different groups, whether because they did not circulate for long after they had been issued, or because they were current in an area or in a period in

1. In the Periyakulam taluk of the Madura district of the Madras Province, and about 50 miles west of Madura town.

2. A batch of coins from the hoard was, after the preliminary cleaning, weighed by Prof. D. D. Kosambi of Poona, and the weights given above are those ascertained by him.

which no currency flowed in from other economic units. On the probability of the former explanation no definite view can be expressed till, on an adequate cleaning of the pieces, we are able to say, from the wear and tear they exhibit, for how long they could have remained afloat as active currency. The latter possibility may be dismissed almost *in limine*, for coins of the *purāṇa* class issued from far away centres and coins from the distant Roman empire are known to have penetrated to the remotest nooks of south India down to 225 A.D[1] Alternatively, the issue of the pieces of this hoard must be placed some decades at least after the close of the period in which the punch-marked *purana* was freely issued from other centres, but, we have no basis at all for such a hypothesis. On such considerations as these it looks reasonable to hold that the pieces of this hoard were issued not later than the first quarter of the third century A. D.

The reverse symbol of these coins is of a curious shape being compounded, roughly speaking, of an x capped and enclosed by an inverted v; it is in No. 1 below. About half a century



ago, nine punch-marked silver *puraṇas* bearing this symbol were gathered 'from different places in the vicinity of Tamravarni river' in the Tinnevelly district, or, more specifically, in the villages of both sides of the Tamravarni from Srivaikuntam to Old Kayal'[2]—that is, in the extreme south of the country. No other pieces in silver bearing this symbol were discovered till our hoard came to light. This same symbol, but much larger in size, appears on the reverse of cast or die-struck coins of copper picked up in the same area[3] and at Madura[4]. This

1. This has been established, in regard to the Roman coins, in my *Catalogue of Roman and Byzantine Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, now in the press.

2. E. Loventhal, *Coins of Tinnevelly* (1888), 4 : 1(4-6).

3. *Ib.* 4-6 : 1(11-4).

4. *Ib.* 6. See also Prof. M. H. Krishna, in *Archæological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report*, 1936 : 07-71 : 23-4, and T. M. Rangachariar & T. Desikachariar, *Dravidian Coins*, 10 : 1(1, 8, 10) A highly corroded copper piece recovered in the excavations of about 1941 at Arikkamedu, near Pondicherry, has been found by me to belong to this class of issues: the piece may have travelled north from the region of Madura in the course of trade.

mark, which may be taken as the type of a series, is found with slight modifications on the reverse of copper coins that have turned up in the Madura and the Tinnevelly districts. One of the modifications (No. 2, p. 2), consists of the addition of a curve (resembling an arc of a circle) inverted over the typical symbol, and is found on coins turning up in Madura and in the country around.[1] It has been said that 'the native legend' is that the coins bearing this adaptation 'were struck in Madura at a very early period, and that the line denotes the river' Vaigai on the banks of which Madura stands, 'while the chequered pattern is supposed to represent a plan of the city.'[2] Another adaptation, presenting the typical symbol enclosed in a rectangular frame (No. 3, p. 2,), is found on pieces picked up in Ceylon.[3] Neither the typical symbol nor its adaptations are to be seen on coins, whether of silver or of copper, issued north of the Madura country. These coins are obviously peculiar to the capital of the Pāṇḍya country, to the southern portion of that country and to the island adjoining that region of the main land. One would, therefore, seem to have ample justification for concluding, at least tentatively that the typical mark is associated with what is known to history as the Pandya country. But it is not yet possible to say what precisely the association is: it may vary, for instance, from one with a city or other place in the Pandya land to one with the tutelary deity of the Pāṇḍya line[4]. None the less, it is indubitable that the coins bearing the typical mark do form a Pyaṇḍan issue.

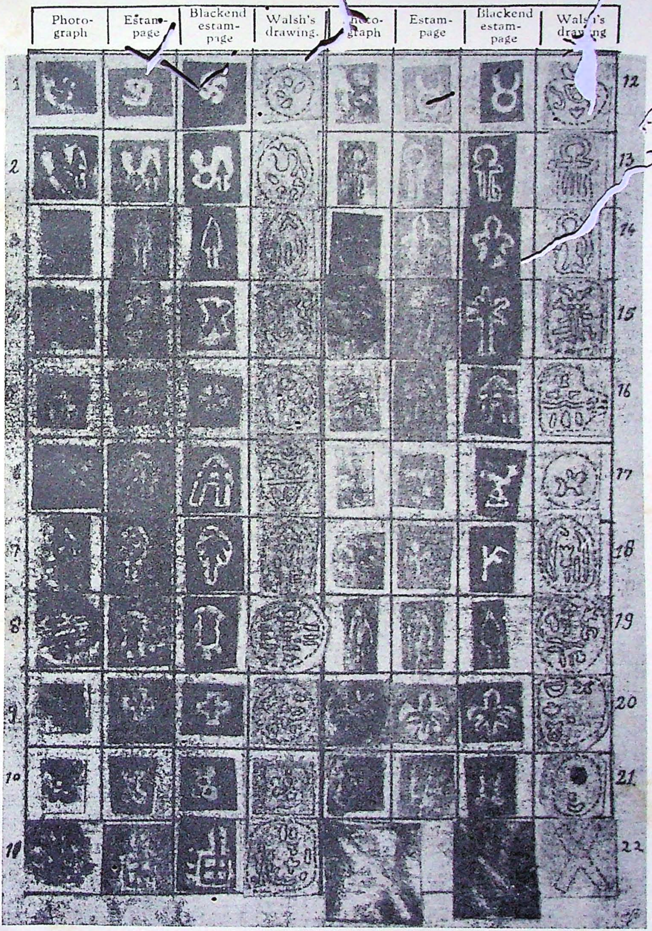
Another feature of this find seems to confirm the correctness of this inference. A symbol (No. 4, p. 2) occurring on the obverse of many of the silver *puraṇa* pieces of our hoard may be said to resemble a three-pronged spear with a long shaft set vertically on a stand or pedestal. But for a 'nut'-like projection from the shaft which appears a little higher than half way up, one would readily take the symbol to represent a candelabrum with a shaft adjustable for length with a 'nut' set in the shaft, if only one could persuade oneself that the prong-like projections are representations of flames. This symbol is almost identical with a mark that occurs prominently on the obverse of the cast or die-struck coins in copper, which have been already referred to as being peculiar to the Paṇḍya country[5], and the mark is not known to occur on coins issued from

1. R. H. Tufnell, *Hints to Coin Collectors in South India* (1889), 8 : 1 (2): Prof. Krishna, *op. cit.*
2. Tufnell, *op. cit.*
3. H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (1924), 19 : 1 (6).
4. Fancy sees in the symbol a likeness to a fish, *Mina*, with its fins on show, and wonders whether it has a reference to *Minākshi*, the 'fish-eyed' goddess of Madura, who has been the tutelary deity of the peoples and the princes of the Pandya country.
5. Loventhal, *op. cit.*, 5-6 : 1 (11, 12).

elsewhere. Perhaps, this mark represents a second element or factor appertaining to the Pāṇḍya country, which the numismatists of those days had to picture by a symbol on these coins. If this element too is geographical, it cannot be so except in the extended sense adopted above in regard to the typical symbol on the reverse. But it is not probable that a second geographical factor had to be taken note of in determining the symbols to be punched on the coins: it is preferable to seek for this symbol an association which is in consonance with those ordinarily suggested, as, for instance, with a Prince of the Pāṇḍya line or a Moneyer or a Corporation of Merchants by whom the pieces were issued, or with the official whose duty it was to keep currency up to the standards favoured by the state or the community.

The hoard is thus of great interest and is likely to prove of special value in settling difficult points in the history of the punch-marked series of *purāṇa* coins, at least because the hoard presents none of the confusions or doubts which are given rise to by the intermingling of different issues,—it being singularly free from admixture.

1. Some of the copper pieces of the Madura country (Loventhal, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, figs. 11, 12), with which the silver *purāṇas* of the same area have been compared here, bear symbols on the obverse which appear to be representations of some assortment of objects of auspicious import, such as the Sun or the Wheel, the Flowing Vase and the Crescent Moon, usually included in the various lists of *ashta-maṅgalas* known to us. A lamp being among the objects included in some of the lists, we may have to agree that the lamp-like symbol we have met with on these coins might be a lamp or candelabrum.



SYMBOLS ON THE PATNA COPPER-BAND

PUNCH-MARKED COPPER BAND FROM PATNA

By Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, Asst. Editor, 'AJ' Benares.

A copper band, 19¼″ long, 1″ wide and 1/10″ in thickness, was discovered along with some Mauryan antiquities in the excavations of the foundation for the building of the Imperial Bank of India at Patna on the 17th December 1937. It was coiled into a round form and the two ends were rivetted together. The band has two more holes, which could pin the whole stripe if fixed together to a piece of wood or metal. The band is at present deposited in the Patna Museum. The interest of numismatists lies in the fact that some symbols are punched over it.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri published a paper about the band in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* and held the view that most of the marks of the band were the marks that are known to numismatists as 'Taxila Marks', and he concluded that it bore most of the marks that were seen on the punch-marked coins hailing from Taxila.[1] He, however did not give drawing of the marks in his paper. Mr. E. H. C. Walsh published another paper about the band in the same *Journal* and gave the drawing sketches of the marks from the photo-plate which was published along with Dr. Banerji-Sastri's paper. He was of opinion that there were 22 marks on the band, that none of them were indentical and that none save two, occur on any punch-marked coins.[2] Thus the two scholars came to altogether divergent conclusions.

Recently, by courtesy of Mr. S.A. Shere, Curator, Patna Museum, I had an occassion to see a photograph and a number of estampages of the band. What I could conclude from the examination of the photograph and the estampages is entirely different from the views of either of the two scholars.

The actual number of the marks on the band is 21 and not 22 as noted by Mr. Walsh. The Mark 15 of Mr. Walsh's plate (Pl. I, 22) is not a mark punched on the band. What looks like a cross mark on the photo-plate, is a creeze; and it has no trace on any of the estampages. While all the other marks are engraved in the centre of the band occupying half or three quarter of the width, this so-called mark is across the whole width. While all the other marks are deeply punched and have sign of incuse, this mark has none. Its photograph (Pl. I fig. 22) shows that the lines of the cross are merely traces of foldings.

1. *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1938, XXIV, pp. 85-88.
2. *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1939, XXV, pp. 1-5.

In the accompanying plate (Pl. I) I have given the photographs and the best estampages of the marks, along with their forms restored by me in a blacked estampage and their drawings by Mr. Walsh. The comparative study of the photograph and the estampages shows that the marks on the band are absolutely different from those drawn by Mr. Walsh and are actually the marks shown by me in the column 3 of the plate. It is also clear that most of the marks are found on the obverse or the reverse of the punch-marked coins. I shall now describe and comment upon them. The numbers refer to those on the margins of Pl. I.

Mark 1. *Swastika with circular arms*, or *a Chakra with four curveu arms* has great resembelence with the obverse mark 110, described by Mr. Durga Prasad in the *N. S.* Vol. XLV (pl. 27)). Mr. Walsh has also mentioned a symbol of this type with opposite arcs (*J. N. S. I.* Vol III, pl. I fig. 27). This mark in its form, is seen as the reverse mark on the punch-marked coins (*M. A. S. I.*, 59 pl. II fig. 141 ; *M. A. S. 1* , 62 pl. VI fig. 234 ; *J. N, S I*, Vol. II, pl. II fig. 24 ff). It is also found on the Ramapura copper bolt of the Asokan pillar.

Mark 2. *Taurine with an arrow on its right* is a reverse mark found on the punch-marked coins and has been described by Mr. Allan in his *B. M. C.* p. 66.

Mark 3. *An Arrow or a spear head* forms part of all the *chakra* symbols and some other obverse marks of the punch-marked coins. It is also found alone on the obverse and reverse of the early punch-marked coins. (*N. S.* XLV pl. XXII fig. 107 ; *J. N. S. I.* Vol. II, pl. III fig. 77, 78) and on the reverse of the pre-Mauryan coins (*M. A. S. I.*, 59 pl. II fig. 58).

Mark 4. *Cross* is found on the punch-marked coins of the Paila hoard (*J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II pl. III fig. 40b.)

Mark 5 is a figure consisting of *six concentric straight lines*. It is seen on the obverse of the early punch-marked coins (*M.A.S.I.*, 62 pl. V, fig. 202).

Mark 6. *An arched gate with two horizontal parallel shafts* is a new mark and is not seen on any punch-marked coins.

Mark 7 is quite clear in the estampage but what exactly it represents cannot be stated with any amount of çertitude.

Mark 8 is a very indistinct mark and nothing can be said about the figure.

Mark 9. *Hollow cross* is a well known symbol of the Mauryan period. It is found on the copper bolt of Asoka along with the crescent-on-the-hill mark. It is also found on the seal impression on the terracotta dishes and some other

antiquities of the Mauryan period (*J. R. A. S.*, 1936, pl. IV; *N.S.* XLVII, p. 62-63, pl. 8).

Mark 10. *Crescent on the hill* is the most conspicuous symbol of the later punch-marked coins and is identified as the Mauryan Imperial Mark (*J. R. A. S.* 1936, p. 10; *N.S.* XLVII p. 62). While the symbol on the punch-marked coins has three arches with a flat base, the symbol on the band is composed of three circles, one over the other two.

Mark 11. *Tree in a railing* is another conspicuous symbol, which is seen in various forms on the punch-marked coins. (*N.S.* XLVII, p. 29).

Mark 12. *Taurine* is one of the most conspicuous common symbol found on the obverse and the reverse sides of the punch-marked coins of the early period and on the reverse of the coins of the middle and the later period. It is also seen as a component part of other complex symbols, most commonly found on the obverse of the later period coins.

Mark 13. This mark no doubt looks like a human figure to some extent, but probably something else is intended. I am unable to give its correct identification.

Mark 14 is another mark which resembles a human figure, but it bears no resemblance to any human figures seen on the later punch-marked coins. It is more near to the human images of the copper age.

Mark 15. *Palm tree* is often seen on the punch-marked coins (*N.S.* XLV p. 49, pl. 27 fig. 78; *M. A. S. I.*, 62 pl. 11 fig. 28)[1].

Mark 16 is same as mark 6.

Mark 17 is not clear either in the photograph or in the estampages. But such of its traces as are left clearly suggest that it stood for *peacock on the hill.* This is another conspicuous symbol seen on the obverse and the reverse of the later punch-marked coins. It is also seen engraved on the Asokan pillar at Lauria Nandangarh.

Mark 18 is a new symbol, which needs identification.

Mark 19 is a bud or an arrow, which is often noticed on the punch-marked coins.

Mark 20 greatly resembles the 'Taxila Mark', but it is not identical with it.

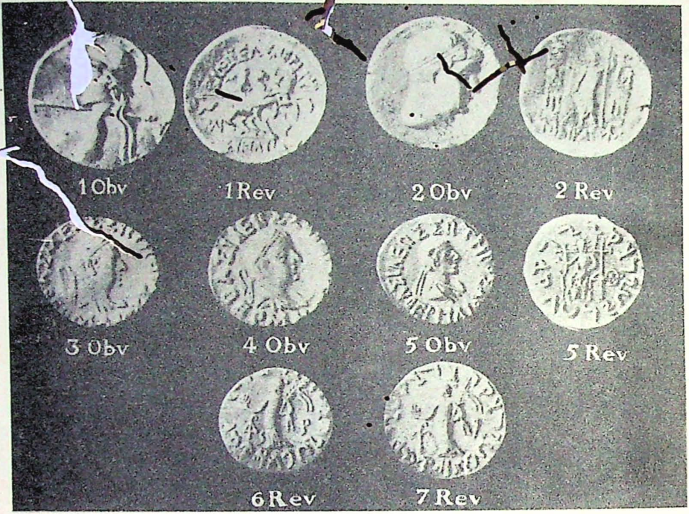
Mark 21 is Turaine put on some stand.

Now, it is clear from the above observations that the copper band has a number of marks, which are found on the punch-

1. It also occurs on some Ayodhyā coins.

marked coins and some of the antiquities of the Mauryan period. Marks 9, 10 and 12 occur on the Rampurwa copper bolt. Marks 6, 11, 12, 16 and 19 with slight variations are seen on the Sohgaura plate. The band can therefore safely be attributed to the Mauryan period.

Another interesting point about the band is its purpose. Mr. Walsh thinks that it was the hoop of a small wooden bucket of which the wood-work would have perished in the soil and that the marks on the band are mere ornamentation. But his understanding of the figures was entirely incorrect and their drawings surprisingly inaccurate. In view of the definite identification of the band marks as symbols found on punch-marked coins and other Mauryan antiquities, it appears to me that the marks on the band are not mere ornamentation. And there is every probability that this band might be some document like the copper bolt and the Sohgaura plate, the proper significance of which will be understood only when the symbol language of the punch-marked coins yields its undeciphered secret.



RARE INDO-GREEK AND INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS.

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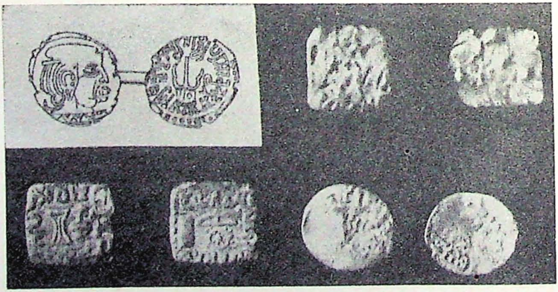


Obv. 10 Rev. Obv. 11 Rev.

No. 8. A "VALABHI" COIN

No. 9. A COIN OF DIMABHĀGA

No. 10. A UNIQUE MATHURA COIN

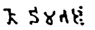
No. 11. A KUNINDA COIN

A COIN OF KING DIMABHĀḌA

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR.

This coin was discovered some years ago in a pit at Pauni in the Bhaṇḍārā District of the Central Provinces. The pit contained a huge slab of stone with an inscription in early Brāhmī characters of about the beginning of the Christian era. The people of Pauni say that the stone slab lay flat on the ground, but some one expecting to find a treasure underneath, dug below it, causing a small pit which dragged the slab down. After the aforementioned stone inscription was copied and deciphered, Mr. M. A. Suboor, Coin-Expert of the Central Museum, Nagpur, visited the place for further exploration and discovered in the pit the small coin described here. Another coin of the same metal, but without any legend, was given to us when we visited the place some time later.

It is a cast coin of bronze almost square in size, with each side measuring about ·6″. It weighs 40·5 grains. It is not in a good state of preservation, its surface having depressions here and there, which have damaged some letters and symbols on it. (Pl. II B. 9). It has on the obverse a legend in relief, placed almost diagonally with the sun symbol in a circle above and the figure of a humped bull together with a taurine symbol in front below. The reverse shows again a taurine symbol and two rectangular figures one below the other. The characters of the legend are of about the third century B.C. I read it as *-ño Dimabhāḍa-*. It has plainly lost one *akshara* (*rā*) in the beginning in the depression which has been formed by corrosion. The last letter which appears on the right hand edge of the coin is also partly damaged. Another *akshara* (*sa*) may not have come out owing to the smallness of the flan. The complete legend may thus have been *rāño Dimabhāḍasa*. As the coin is blurred and the letters difficult to make out in the photograph and the plate, I give below a drawing of the legend.



The characters of the legend appear to be of the Aśokan age. *Da* faces left, *ma* has a round bottom, while *bha* shows a straight vertical on the right as in some inscriptions of Aśoka[2].

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 11 ff.
2. Bühler, *Indian Palæography*, (English Translation), p. 36.

The medial vowels of *no* and *ā* are also of the same age. The coin is therefore of about the end of the third century B. C.

The legend is in Prakrit and means 'This coin is of the king Dimabhāga'. This royal name sounds strange, but from the Purāṇas we know of some other names ending in *bhāga* such as Nābhāga. Dimabhāga seems to have ruled over the territory round Pauni before the time of the Satavahanas. Bhagadatta mentioned in the aforementioned Pauni inscription may have been one of his descendants[1]. In that case he, like Bhagadatta, may have belonged to the Bhāra family.

This is the earliest inscribed coin found in the Central Provinces and Berar, or, for the matter of that, in the whole of South India. The earliest inscribed coins so far found in the South are those of the Sātavāhanas. As the letters on the present coin are clearly of an earlier age, Dimabhāga seems to have flourished in the Central Provinces before the Sātavāhanas rose to power in the South. Apīlaka is the earliest Sātavāhana king whose coin has been found in this part of the country.[2]

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 12.
2. *J. R. A. S. B.* Vol. III (1937), Num. Suppl. XLVII, pp. 93 ff.

SOME RARE AND INTERESTING INDO-BAKRIAN AND INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS.

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR.

Mr. D. D. Ghoshal, retired superintendent of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, Howrah, has collected a large and valuable collection of ancient Indian coins. Last July he very kindly sent to me the casts of some of them for publication in the Journal and promised to dispatch their further instalments for the same purpose[1]. In the present paper I am publishing some of the rare and interesting Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins[2] in his cabinet, and I trust that equally interesting discoveries will result from the further examination of his remaining coins.

Mr. Ghoshal is himself a close student of numismatics, but has been practically blinded by cataract. He therefore could not himself write on the subject, but nevertheless favoured me with useful observations partly incorporated in this paper. I am sure that all numismatists will feel grateful to Mr. Ghoshal for taking adequate steps to publish the rare coins in his collection. I trust that other private collectors will follow his example and thus promote further progress of knowledge.

A TETRADRACHM OF EUKRATIDES

Metal, silver ; size, 1·25″ ; weight, 240 gr.

Obv. Helmeted bust of the king to left, thrusting javelin, shoulder without drapery ; long ends of the diadem falling over it. A crest flowing behind from the helmet. Ears and horns of the bull on the helmet.

Rev. Dioscuri charging ; legend, at the top, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΗΓΑΛΟΥ ; below ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ **Pl. IIA, 1**

A drawing of only the obverse of a coin of this type has been published in *B. M. C.*, pl. XXX, 8. The present coin however differs from that in the *B.M.C.* in several respects. It has no bead and reel border like the coin in the *B.M.C.* The king's crest in the present coin is considerably different in type ; it has only one end flowing down and not two as on the *B.M.C.* specimen. The king's javelin in the latter has feathers attached to it at its back ; in the present case it has no such addition.

1. This instalment has sence been received and is being examined at present.

2. The description of all the coins is based upon an examination of the casts and not their originals, except in the case of the tetradrachm of Heliokles, which I have examined in the original.

The present coin is thus of a very rare type and in some respects unique. The *B. M. C.* has published only the drawing of its obverse. Our plate gives both the obverse and reverse of the original.

A TETRADRACHM OF HELIOKLES

Metal; silver; size, irregularly circular, 1.19″ × 1.16″; weight, 200 grains.

Obv. Bust of king to right; bead and reel circular border.

Rev. Zeus standing facing, with sceptre in one hand and winged thunderbolt in the other; legend considerably blurred; to right ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; to left ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΩΣ; at bottom ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ Pl., IIA, 2

The monogram on this coin to the left (a combination of alpha and rhoma) of Zeus is the same as that on B. M. C. Heliokles No 7. But the coin in the *B. M. C.* is a plated one and not illustrated in the plate. The present coin is a genuine silver piece having the same monogram, and is therefore being published here.

TWO TETRADRACHMS OF HERMAEUS

Metal: silver; weight: 146 grains; size: 1·06″.
,, ,, ,, 141 grains; size: 1·07″.

These tetradrachms are published as they give a very good portraiture of Hermaeus in his full manhood. The portraits on these coins give even a better idea of the personality of the king than that in *B.M.C.* pl. XV, 4. Pl. IIA, 3-4.

A THIRD TETRADRACHM OF HERMAEUS

Metal: silver; size: 1″; weight: 148 gr.

Obv. Diademed bust of the king to right, showing oldage features; legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ

Rev. Zeus seated on high-backed throne; Kharoshṭhi legend: *Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa.* Pl. IIA, 5.

This tetradrachm is unique on account of its monogram on the reverse (see Plate). This monogram is so far known to be occurring only on Indo-Scythian coins, issued by Vonones with Spalagadames *B.M.C.*, p. 99, no. 3; *P. M. C.* pl. XIV, 382, by Spalyris with Spalagadames *P.M.C.*, XIV, 385 and Spalyris alone *B.M.C.*, p. 101, no. 5.

This is the first tetradrachm of Hermaeus to be published with an Indo-Scythian monogram, and since it occurs on the coins of Vonnes and the Satraps associated with him, it may be permissible to conjecture that a part of the kingdom of Hermaeus fell into the hands of the members of this Indo-

Scythian family, who may perhaps have been his immediate successors.

It may be further pointed out that the forms of sigma and omega on all the three tetradrachms published herewith are the earlier and normal forms viz. Σ, Ω. Square forms of these letters do not make their appearance even on that coin of Hermaeus which shows old age features. It is therefore clear that the debased coins of Hermaeus, in which these later forms appear, were not issued by him, but by his barbarous conquerors who succeeded him in his dominions.

TWO TETRADACHMS OF ASILIZES

Metal: silver; size: 1·05″; weight: 148 grains; **Pl. IIA, 6.**

" " " 1·06″; " " ; **Pl. IIA, 7.**

These tetradrachms have been published because of their monograms. The association of the delta-rho Greek monogram with Kharoshthi letter *ta* or *ra*, which we see on **Pl. IIA, 6,** is a new one. The same seems to be the case of the association of the two monograms on the reverse of **Pl. IIA, 7.**

THE LEGEND ON VALABHĪ COINS.

BY PRIN. V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR.

The legend on certain silver coins known to numismatists as Valabhī coins has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. These coins, in their fabric, resemble the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. They have on the obverse the head of a king facing right and on the reverse a trident (with an axe attached to the handle in some cases,) in the centre, with a legend running along the edge as on the coins of the Kshatrapas. Their weight varies from 27 to 29 grains.

These coins have been known for a long time. They were first brought to notice by James Prinsep in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IV (1835), p. 687, Pl. XLIX, Nos. 6-9 ; but he was unable to decipher any part of the legend. They were next considered by E. Thomas who made some slight advance towards decipherment by reading *rājño mahākshatrapasa* on some best preserved specimens. Subsequently Newton reproduced the characters from some other best specimens and succeeded in reading *paramāditya-bhakta* after *mahākshatrapa.*[2] He also read *Śrī-Śalba* (?) *bhaṭṭārakasa* at the end and ascribed the coins to the kings of Valabhī, because the word *Bhaṭṭāraka* was known 'as the family title of the line of Valabhī princes from their copper-plate grants.[3]' This clue was next taken up by Cunningham who indentified this Bhaṭṭāraka with 'the Senāpati Bhaṭṭāraka,' the founder of the Valabhī dynasty. On some coins of the series Cunningham doubtfully read *Dharasenasa* and he proposed to identify this Dharasena with the homonymous eldest son of Bhaṭṭāraka.[4] Cunningham's readings have not however been accepted by scholars, and he also declared them to be tentative in his *Coins of Mediæval India.*[5] The latest attempt to decipher the legend is that of Mr. G. V. Acharya,[6] who after an elaborate examination of the several letters of the legend gave the reading '*Rājño Mahākshatrapa . . . (Dharanu) dhyātaku samarasaha Śrī Sarvva-Bhaṭṭārakasa*', which he translated as follows—'This is a coin of the illustrious Śaiva Bhaṭṭāraka who meditated on king Mahākshatrapa...and who was his associate in the battlefield.'

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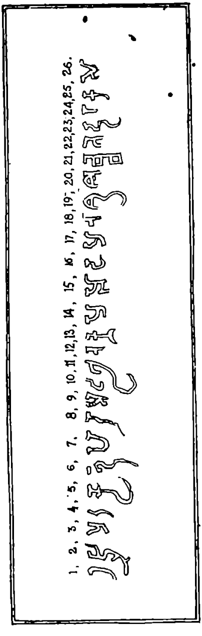
1. *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 68, pl. XII, 35-38.
2. *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 18.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 34. This is of course incorrect, for the family was known as Maitraka.
4. *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 28 ff.
5. In his *Indian Coins* (p. 27) Rapson also has stated that the characters of these coins have not yet been thoroughly deciphered.
6. *J. A. S. B.*, *Num. Suppl.* No. XLVII, pp. 99 ff.



Mr. Acharya evidently identifies this Bhaṭṭāraka with the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī, but he has not stated who was the king bearing the title *Mahākshatrapa*, to whom Bhaṭṭāraka owed allegiance.[1]

It will thus be seen that none of the attempts so far made to decipher the legend has been completely successful. The difficulty is evidently caused by the debased nature of the characters, for, as Cunningham has remarked, 'at least one half of the symbols are mere upright strokes with a knob at the top like a common pin[2].' The coins are said to have been 'very plentiful in Gujarat and Kathiawad, perhaps more plentiful than those of the Western Kshatrapas and Guptas put together[3]'. They were evidently minted not by a single king, but by a line of kings, which accounts for their progressive deterioration. For a successful decipherment of their legend, we must therefore get the earliest and best specimens. Latterly I examined some of these coins, but they were so debased that they afforded no help. In the margin I have therefore put the legend together from the letters reproduced by Newton from three best specimens which he had obtained in Kathiawad and Kaira[4]. The enlarged facsimile of 'the first variety' published by Mr. Acharya[5] will be found to corroborate it in respect of most of the letters.

There are twenty-six *aksharas* in all. As shown below, one *akshara* seems to have been omitted in these legends, but judging from the facsimile of 'the first variety' published by Mr. Acharya, it may have been present in the legends on other coins.

1. Bhṭārka was originally Senāpati of the contemporary Gupta king, but no Gupta king is known to have assumed the title *Mahākshatrapa*.
2. *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 29.
3. *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 33.
4. *Ibid.* p. 14.
5. *J. A. S. B.*, *Num. Suppl.* No. XLVII, p. 101.

About the first two *aksharas* there is no doubt. They are clearly *rajño* (for rājño) and resemble those on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas[1]. I read the next seven letters (3-9) as *Mahakshatrapa-ram-āditya-bhakta*. The third *akshara* is like the 9th, 14th and 17th and the only reading which suits in all these cases is *ma*. It is evidently a debased or imperfectly preserved form of the so-called eastern variety of Gupta *ma*, seen in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[2] The fourth *akshara* is clearly *ha*; for it has this very form on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas.[3] There can hardly be any doubt about the reading *kshatrapa* of the next three *aksharas*. It seems that one *pa* after *kshatrapa* is omitted by haplography, the following six *aksharas* (8-13) being *ram-aditya-bhakta* standing for [*pa**] *ram-āditya-bhakta*. The next five *aksharas* (14-18) appear to be *mahasamanta* for *mahāsāmanta*. As shown above, the first of these is clearly *ma*. The next one (15), though unlike letter No. 4, can be read as *ha* as it has the form of the so-called western variety of that letter. The sixteenth and eighteenth *aksharas* seem to be imperfectly preserved. The former has lost its right limb and the latter, its lower member *t*. *Mahāsāmanta*[4] appears to be the only possible reading. The last eight *aksharas* are clearly *śra-Sarvva-bhaṭṭarakasa*, standing for *'śrī-Sarvva-bhaṭṭārakasa*. Most of these letters are intact and legible on coin No. 16 in the plate facing p. 3 of *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVI, which is reproduced for this article in **Pl. IIA, 8**.

The complete legend (with the vowels supplied), therefore, is *Rājño Mahākshatrapa-* [*pa**] *ramāditya-bhakta-Mahāsāmanta-*[5] *śrī-Sarvva-Bhaṭṭārakasa*, which means '(This is a coin) of the

1. See, e. g., Rapson's *Coins of the Andhras* etc., p. 60.

2. *C. I. I*, Vol. III, Pl. I.

3. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc., p cxcix. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, (English Translation). p. 46, Table IV, 39, vii. The lower part of it seems to be redundant.

4. (I do not think that *mahāsāmanta* is the probable reading. The title Mahākshatrapa at this time indicated independent status and it is not likely that a king, who took that title, would have called himself *mahāsāmanta* or a mere feudatory. In the photograph of the coin given in Pl. IIA, 8, the letters in question read as *samadasara*. The same reading can be suggested almost with equal confidence in the case of Coin No. 24, Pl. V, in Cunningham's Report, Vol. IX. Prof. Mirashi informs me that while this reading is possible on the coin in the plate, there are other coins where the last letter looks clearly like a *ka* and not like a *ra*. Cannot *ka*, however, be a corruption from *ra*? I interpret *samadasara* as *sammardasara* 'one moving (freely and victoriously) in battle. *Sammardasara* or *samadasara* is no doubt an unusual but not an unmeaning epithet. Unless better coins become available, the point cannot be finally settled. (A.S.A.)

5. On some coins *Mahāsāmanta* seems to have rightly preceded *param--āditya-bhakta*. See Newton's eye-copy of variety No. 17 in *J. Bom. Br. R.A.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 14 and the accompanying plate.

King, Mahākshatrapa and Mahāsāmanta, the illustrious lord Sarva who is a fervent devotee of the sun.'

These coins in their fabric and type (except for the substitution of a trident in place of the hill and the crescent) resemble the issues of the Western Kshatrapas. They have been found 'throughout Gujarat and Kathiawad', in Cutch and in the north as far as Pushkar near Ajmer. Cunningham believed them to be the issues of the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī. But the name of this personage is invariably spelt as Bhaṭārka (never as Bhaṭṭāraka) in the charters of his descendants and it is noteworthy that all these charters are in Sanskrit, so that Bhaṭārka cannot be taken as a corrupt form of Bhaṭṭāraka. Secondly, like the Śuṅga Pushyamitra, Bhaṭārka retained to the last his original title of *Senāpati*. He never called himself *Rājan*, *Mahākshatrapa* and *Mahāsāmanta*. Thirdly, Bhaṭṭāraka is known to have been *paramamāheśvara* i. e., a devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva). He cannot therefore be identical with the issuer of these coins, who calls himself *param-ādityabhakta*, *i.e.*, a fervent devotee of the sun. Bhaṭṭāraka is therefore plainly a title,[1] the proper name of the king who first struck these coins being Sarva.[2]

When did this Sarva flourish ? The fabric and type of his coins indicate that he must have flourished not long after the Western Kshatrapas. Besides, the dates of these Kshatrapas are so continuous that there is hardly any room for a ruler of another dynasty in the midst of that series. As the title *Kshatrapa* seems to have gone out of use soon after the Western Kshatrapas[3], Sarva could not have been separated from them by a long interval. The palæography of the legend also lends support to this view. It seem therefore that Sarva flourished about A. D. 400 when the Kshatrapas were exterminated by Chandragupta II. He calls himself *Mahāsāmanta* and therefore may have owed allegiance either to the Guptas or to the Traikūṭakas. After the overthrow of the Western Kshatrapas, Gupta rule spread over Kathiawad and Malwa, but Central Gujarat between the Mahi and the Narmadā does not appear to have been incorporated in the Gupta Empire, for no records of the Guptas have been found

1. Compare the title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* assumed by many Emperors in ancient India.

2. Mr. Acharya takes the intended form to be Śārvva (meaning a devotee of Śiva) and makes it an epithet of Bhaṭṭāraka, but we have no other instance of Śārva used in this sense.

3. It seems to have been assumed by some kings of other dynasties also, who ruled in Gujarat and Kathiawad. The case of *Mahākshatrapa* Īśvaradata, whose coins dated in the first and second years have been found together with those of the Kshatrapas, is well known.

in that part of the country. Southern Gujarat was under the Traikūṭakas.[1] Sarva may therefore have nominally acknowledged the suzerainty of the contemporary Gupta or Traikūṭaka Emperor [2] who, it would seem, allowed him the privilege of coining his own money.[3] Sarva's coins evidently remained in circulation long after his death. The Maitrakas of Valabhī, who had no coinage of their own, adopted this coinage and made it the currency of their kingdom. In ancient times all kings were not equally jealous about the privilege of issuing their own coins. We have, for instance the annlogous case of the silver coinage of the Kalachuri Krishṇarāja (*circa* A. D. 550-575). Buddharāja, the grandson of Krisṇaraja was overthrown by the Chālukya Emperor Pulakeśin II, but as the Chālukyas had no coinage of their own, they allowed the silver coins of Krishṇarāja to circulate within their own and their feudatories' territories. The Anjaneri plates of Bhogaśakti, a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas ruling over Koṅkaṇ and the Nasik District, show that the *Krishṇarāja-rūpakas* or the silver coins of Krishṇarāja were current in Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāshtra till A. D. 710 at least, *i.e.*, for nearly 150 years after the time of Krishṇarāja. The degenerated nature of these coins of Śarva plainly indicates that they must have continued to be minted from progressively deteriorating dies for a much longer period.

1. The earliest known Traikūṭaka king is *Mahārāja* Indradatta who may have flourished in the period A. D. 415-440 as a copper-plate charter of his son Dahrasena is dated A. D. 456-57. Traikūṭaka coins have generally been found in southern Gujarat and Mahārāshṭra.

2. Śarva seems to have held practically the same position as Gurjara kings who ruled over the same territory in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

3. For a contrary view, see the next article.

INTERREGNUM IN THE REIGN OF MAHĀKSHATRAPA SVĀMI RUDRASENA III (348-378 A.D.)

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

The Kshatrapa history during the 4th century A.D. is still shrouded in obscurity. There is one interregnum during the years 332-348 A.D. and another between 351 and 364 A.D. Since the first interregnum is followed by the accession Svāmi Rudradāman II, who did not belong to the line of Kshatrapa Yaśodāman II who was ruling before 332 A.D., it is very likely that it was spent in civil war during which neither side found it convenient to issue any coins. Or only a very few coins may have been issued, which could not be preserved to the modern age.

The second interregnum between 351 and 364 A.D. has not yet been satisfactorily explained. We cannot argue that it was due to the eclipse of the power of Rudrasena by the conquests of Samudragupta; for if Samudragupta had secured a smashing victory so early over the Western Kshatrapas, it would have been duly described by Harisheṇa in the Allahabad *praśasti*. Nor can we attribute the debacle of the Western Kshatrapas to an invasion by the Vākāṭakas ; for their power at this time was at its low ebb. It is suggested in some quarters that the Sassanian emperor Shapur II, who is known to have been engaged in an eastern expedition during 356-7 A.D., may have conquered Gujarat and Kathiawar and caused a break in the coinage ot Rudrasena III. But there is no definite evidence of such an invasion, and no Sassanian coins have been found in Gujarat or Kathiawar.

Prin. Mirashi's valuable paper published in this number just before this article made me think over the matter once more, and now I feel it most likely that Śarvva Bhaṭṭāraka was most probably the enemy, who successfully ousted Rudrasena from his dominions for about 13 years. It is well known that his coins are found throughout Gujarat and Kathiawar ; evidence of hoards shows that both these provinces were lost by Rudrasena III. The Uparkot and the Sarvania hoards show clearly that life and property had become quite unsafe throughout Gujarat and Kathiawar at the end of 351 A.D. These hoards contain only those coins of the reign of Rudrasena III which were issued in his first four years during the period 348 and 351 and many of them were in mint condition. From these facts

1. Rapson, *Catalogue*. p. CXIV, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.* 1913-4, pp. 227-45.

we may fairly conclude that the hoards were buried at the end of the first period of Rudrasena's reign, as the general consternation was very great owing to the total eclipse of the Śaka power.

I agree with Prin. Mirashi that as the title Mahākshatrapa went out of vogue after the fall of the Western Kshatrapas, we must place Mahākshatrapa Śarvva of these so-called Valabhī coins at about 400 A.D. But I do not think that Śarvva succeeded the Western Kshatrapas in central Gujarat and was ruling there as a feudatory of the Guptas. It is true that we have not yet found any Gupta records in central Gujarat, but this may be quite accidental. It seems very improbable that Chandragupta II, after having taken all the trouble to conquer Malwa, northern Gujarat and Kathiawar, would have allowed central Gujarat to remain in the hands of a feudatory of doubtful fidelity. This province included the premier port of India,- Bharoch, which in those days occupied the position of modern Bombay. It is inconceivable that the Guptas after their conquest of the Kshatrapas would have sacrificed the revenues of this port in favour of a third party.

It must be further remembered that the Guptas had a number of feudatories in Central India, but none of them has issued any coinage. This shows that they were not permitting their feudatories the privilege of coinage. It is therefore very unlikely that they would have allowed Śarvva to issue any coins, had he been their feudatory. We must further remember in this connection that the Guptas were very anxious to popularise their own silver currency in the conquered provinces and took immediate steps to issue it in abundant quantity. Would they have permitted a feudatory to compete with them by issuing coins of his own, which were bound to get currency not only in central Gujarat but also in their own dominions to its north ?

Nor do I find it possible to persuade myself to accept Prin. Mirashi's alternative suggestion that Sarvva may have been a feudatory of the Traikūṭakas. Prin. Mirashi places Śarvva in *c*. 400 A. D., and we have no evidence to show that the Traikūṭakas had then risen to power. The earliest Traikūṭaka date is 456 A. D., when Dahrasena was ruling. His coin legend shows that his father Indradatta had also the title Mahārāja and was perhaps a ruling prince. But since we have so far found no coins of his, it is unlikely that he had attained any independent status. Supposing even that he had done so, it will follow that a Traikūṭaka king was ruling independently from *c*. 420 to 440 A. D. So far we have no evidence to show that Indradatta had any predecessor, and that he was so powerful a

feudatory as Śarvva, who seems to have been ruling all over Gujarat and Kathiawar.

Since the time of Rudradāman I (*c.* 150 A. D.) the term Mahākshatrapa had assumed the dignity of the title of an independent king. We do not find any Mahākshatrapa ever calling himself a *mahāsāmanta* in any of his documents. I think it extremely improbable that Śarvva Bhaṭṭāraka, who had assumed both the titles *rājan* and *mahākṣatrapa*, which at this time clearly indicated independent status, would ever have coupled them with the title *mahāsāmanta*, which denoted a mere feudatory status. It is difficult to become confident about the reading of this part of the legend, but I have suggested above (p. 6, n. 4) that the disputed word is most probably *samadasara* standing for Skt. *sammardasara*, one who moves (proudly and victoriously) in the battle.

The original prototype of the so-called Valabhī coinage was no doubt issued in the latter half of the 4th century A.D. The issuer was undoubtedly Bhaṭṭāraka Sarvva, as Prin. Mirashi has suggested. He could not have been a feudatory of the Guptas, or the Traikūṭakas for the reasons given above. The issuer was an independent ruler, who claimed the same imperial titles as were assumed by the Kshatrapas. He had obviously ousted them out of their entire dominion, because his coins are found throughout Gujarat and Kathiawar. The Western Kshatrapas are known to have lost these provinces during the period 351-364 A.D. Is it not then reasonable to assume that it was this Bhaṭṭāraka Śarvva, who was the rival who ousted Rudrasena in *c.* 351 A. D. and continued to reign down to 364 A. D. when the Śaka ruler succeeded in re-asserting his position and ousting the interloper ?

As shown already, there is no evidence to show that either the Vākāṭakas or the Sassanians or the Guptas had overthrown the Kastrapa power during the interval of 13 years between 351 and 364 A. D. On the other hand it is clear that Rājā Mahākshatrapa Śarvva Bhaṭṭāraka was ruling in Gujarat and Kathiawar during the latter half of the 4th century. It is but reasonable to assume that it was the establishment of the rule of Sarvva which led to the disestablishment of the power of the Kshatrapa Rudrasena III. I propose this theory as a probable hypothesis, but feel that subsequent discoveries will confirm rather than contradict it.

Why did the Maitrakas of Valabhī later imitate this coin type, when they succeeded in establishing themselves as independent rulers ? In the realm of ancient Indian numismatics, the succeeding dynasty usually copies the coinage of its
4 immediate predecessor. Why then this departure in the case

of the Maitrakas of Valabhī? Why did they not imitate the coinage of the Guptas to whom they owed allegiance in the beginning?

It is difficult to give a satisfactory answer to these questions, but I venture to advance a conjecture. I think it not improbable that Senāpati Bhattāraka, the founder of the Maitraka dynasty, was a descendant of Bhattāraka Sarva, who had temporarily succeeded in establishing his supremacy over Gujarat and Kathiawar during 351-364 A. D. The name Maitraka suggests that the dynasty was devoted to solar cult; Bhattāraka Sarva was an *ādityabhakta*. The Maitrakas were also Māhesvaras; Bhattāraka Sarvva has put a trident on his coinage. It is therefore not improbable that Bhattāraka Śarva was a distant ancestor of Senāpati Bhattāraka and he therefore naturally decided to popularise a type, once introduced by one of his illustrious ancestors.

POST SCRIPT

Prin. Mirashi has raised a weighty objection against the above hypothesis in a letter written to me after perusing this paper. He points out that the coins of Sarvva have not been found in those hoards of Kshatrapa coins which contained coins issued later than 364 A.D. after the restoration. If Sarvva really came in the interregnum 351-364 A. D., then his coins should have been found in the Sonpur, Junagad and Vasoj hoards (published by Mr. Acharya in the *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLVII pp. 95-99), as they contained the coins of Rudrasena of the post-restoration period. Are not the coins of Īsvaradatta found mixed up with those of the Kshatrapas? The same should be case with the coins of Śarvva.

The above objection of Prin. Mirashi is undoubtedly a weighty one. But unfortunately we have very little reliable information about the other coins that were found along with these Valabhi coins. All earlier writers are silent on the point. As far as the three hoards described by Mr. Acharya are concerned, I must confess that the account given in the paper concerned seems to be self-contradictory. On the table at p. 99 Mr. Acharya states that the Sonpur hoard contained only three dated and no undated coins of Rudrasena III. But on p. 96 he states that the hoard supplies six new dates for Rudrasena III, viz. 284, 285, 287, 301, 312 and 31x. How can three coins supply six dates? Out of the five dates read by Mr. Acharya, 312 and 31x are impossible ones for Rudrasena III, for Simhasena was ruling in 304 and Rudrasimha, the last king, in 31x. I therefore find it difficult to believe that the hoard is really belonging to the post-restoration period. The same seems

to be the case about the other hoards mentioned in Mr. Acharya's paper. The Junagad hoard was admittedly buried in the reign on Bhartṛidāman, and so could not contain any coins of Rudrasena III or Śarvva. The lots of 209 and 77 Kshatrapa coins lying in the Bahadurkhanji Museum were not hoards, but represented collections gradually made in that Museum. So their value in this connection is nil. The Vasoj hoard is of course very important, for it contained 162 dated and 208 undated coins of Rudrasena III. But Mr. Acharya has not given the dates of these coins, and so it is difficult to state whether the hoard belonged to the post-restoration or pre-restoration period. The only observation about the dates of the coins of Rudrasena III made by Mr. Acharya is to the effect that it supplies a new date for Rudrasena, namely 28(5). The reading of the unit digit 5 is however conjectural and so we cannot state with certainty whether the hoard belonged to the post-restoration period, and should therefore have contained some coins of Sarva as well. Unfortunately Mr. Acharya has not supplied us the different dates supplied by the 162 dated coins of Rudrasena, and as the coins in the hoard have been distributed, the information will be difficult to procure now. While therefore fully recognising the force of Prin. Mirashi's criticism that the coins of Śarvva ought to be found along with those of Rudrasena, if he had really supplanted him, I have to observe that so far we have no authentic records of any hoards of Rudrasena III indisputably belonging to his post-restoration period.

TWO COINS FROM MATHURĀ

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

The two copper coins that are illustrated in **Pl. II B, 11 12** came under my notice at Mathurā during my visit to that place in March 1944. The square piece was with a labourer, living near the old site of the Keshavadeva temple, and the round one was with a local dealer. Both were purchased for the Curzon Museum of Archæology, Mathurā, and I am publishing them with the kind permission of its curator.

The square coin, measuring ·8″ and weighing 83 grains (**Pl. IIB, 10**) is an important piece. It is not an unpublished type; for a similar coin has been published in Cunninghams *Coins of Ancient India*, Pl. III, 14; where only one side of it is illustrated. Both the obverse and the reverse of this coin are however illustrated at Pl. XXXI, 17 of Allan's *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Ancient India.* The coin of Cunningham however is in a very poor state of preservation. At p. 14 of his above work he observes about it as follows :—

'No. 14 is a thin coin weighing only 57 grains. It bears the remains of a long inscription, which unfortunately is not legible.' Allan in his *Catalogue* tentatively groups this coin with the inscribed Negama coins of Taxila and says (Introduction, p. cxxviii) :—

'We have placed here as variety 2 of class II the coin illustrated by Cunningham in *C. A. I.*, III, 14. The type includes a wheel and bow and arrow, but it is impossible to read any legend.

In the *Catalogue* itself he suggests that there are traces of Kharoshṭhī legend on the side of the wheel and the remnants of Brāhmī inscription on the other side (p. 218).

The new coin discovered at Mathura is however much clearer and helps to remove a number of doubtful points. In the first place it becomes quite clear that we cannot class these coins with the inscribed Negama coins of Taxila. The latter have a big wheel surmounted by a three arched crescented hill on one side. The present coin, as well as that of Cunningham, have a small wheel, along with Bow and Arrow, (as on the Kolhapur type of the Sātavāhana coins) and a barrel like vertical object by their side. All these things can be clearly seen on **Pl. II B. 11 Rev.** On Cunningham's piece, the barrel is cut into three segments; in the new coin it is one continuous and unsegmented object.

The obverse of Cunningham's coin was very much blurred and so its symbols could not be made out. Our coin however shows that it has a jar (*kalaśa*) by the side of a tripod, similar to that appearing on the coins of Apollodotus. Below these two objects we have a line of four or five thick dots. To the right of the *kalaśa*, we have some remnants of letters and not traces of symbols.

The obverse and reverse types, which are fairly clear on the new coin, show that it cannot be classed along with the inscribed Negama coins of Taxila, as was tentatively done by Mr. Allan. His conjecture that the coin has a Brāhmī legend on one side is confirmed by the new specimen; on the other side however, it has no Kharoshthi legend, as Mr. Allan had thought. The legend there also is in Brāhmī.

I read the legend on the reverse as follows:—

Top side, above the Bow and Arrow—*Jayaṁtānaṁ pu-*
Right side, *tarasa A-*
Bottom side, *lāvasatāya* Pl II B, 10.

The letters *jayaṁtānaṁ pu* are quite clear in the plate; the following letters *tarasa* are a little less clear in the plate but quite distinct in the original. Whether in the corner after *pu* and before *ta* there was a letter not accommodated completely on the flan, we do not know. Of the letters Alāvasatāya, *vasatāya* are fairly clear in the bottom line of the coin in the plate; *alā* are quite unmistakable on the original coin. Whether there was any letter in the corner between *a* and *lā*, we cannot say with certainty.

The legand on the obverse is still more uncertain. The left side has the letters *Abhapa* followed by a fourth one, which has not come on the coin well. In the top line we have *abaha-* (*hu* ?) *bu*. The right side is the least legible, but in the original as well as on the plate, the second letter *na* is absolutely clear, and the first letter seems to be a *ja*; Pl. II B, 10

It is not possible to offer a satisfactory explanation of the above legends. The reverse legend may be read and *Jayantānaṁ putarasa Alāvasatāya*, a coin of Alāvasatra, son of Jayanta. But this interpretation would require the last word to be *Alāvasatasa* and not *Alāvasatāya* and the first word to be *Jayantasa*. It is however possible to explain the last form as influenced by the Prakrit idiom and the first one as having a honorific plural.

On the joint coins of Hagāna and Hagāmasha the legend reads, *Khatapnāṁ Hagānasa Hagānashasa*; can we suggest that here also the coin is jointly issued by two victorious kings (*jayantānaṁ*) Putara and Alāvasata? This does not seem probable.

The obverse legend is still more mysterious, The last two letters *Ja(?)na* seem to be followed by a third one which looks like a *pa* ; can we complete the word as *janapada ?* In that case the coin may be ascribed to Abahabu-janapada. A *janapada* of this name is however not yet known. I cannot interpret the first three letters Abhapa.

It is not impossible that the coin, though bearing the name of a *janapada* on one side, may have the name of its victorious general on the other.

The coin as well as its legend is still a mystery and I hope that its publication will help in solving it by stimulating further research and helping to bring to light further specimens of the type, if any, lying with collectors or in museums.

A KUNINDA COIN

The coin illustrated on Pl II B, 11 was also obtained at Mathurā. It is being published, as it appears to be the first Kuninda coin to be acquired so far to the south as Mathurā. Most of the Kuninda coins so far found were obtained in the districts of Hamirpur, Ludhiana, Karnal and Saharanpur, i. e. between the upper courses of the Beas and the Sutlej,

It has been suggested that the Kuninda coins, which all bear the legend *Rājñah Kuṇindasa Amoghabhūtisa* were continued to be issued even after the death of Amoghabhūti. (Allan, Introduction, p. cii). Allan does not accept this view because no progressive degeneration in type can be seen even on the coarser coins. On the obverse of the present coin, where we have the legend (between X and 1) *jño Kuṇidasa, da* has assumed the form of a straight line and thus shows some deterioration. As however the coin is very much blurred, we cannot be dogmatic on the point. I now describe the coin below :—

Obverse, Blurred, but faint traces of Lakshmī to the right. Legend (X-I) *jño Kuṇidasa.*

Reverse, Traces of dotted border at the top ; below, traces of Tree in railing, Arched Hill and Banner, as on Kuninda coins. Pl. II B, 11.
Size : ·75″, Weight : 34 grains

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE GUPTA CHHATRA AND BATTLE-AXE COIN-TYPES.

By Rabis C. Kar, M.A., B.L., Calcutta University.

Chandragupta II Vikramāditya has left behind an extensive coinage in gold, silver and copper, displaying considerable originality and variety of types. His gold and copper coins, in particular, exhibit a number of types that are quite original both in conception and in execution.[1] One of these is the so-called *Chhatra* type of his coins issued both in gold and copper. It has no proto-types in earlier issues in India and is also unique in the whole Gupta series.

Gold coins of the *Chhattra* type, which are comparatively rare, are grouped into two classes by Mr. Allan according to their obverse legends. Class I has simply the king's name and title: *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptah.* Class II has a metrical legend which reads: *Kshitimavajitya sucharitairdivaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ.* The obverse type shows the king standing to left in the well-known *dvibhanga* pose, casting incense with extended right hand on fire-altar in front, the left hand resting on hip near sword-hilt in the *katihasta-mudrā*; behind the king, a *vāmana* or dwarf holds *amangala-chhatra* with floating *patākā* over the king's head, the *danda* passing behind his back.[2] The reverse type is the standing Srī or Lakshmī, holding *padma* and *pāsa* in her two hands.[3] The obverse of the *Chhatra* type copper coins is similar, but the reverse is different—Garuda with or without human arms instead of Lakshmi-Srī. On the copper, moreover, there is no inscription on the obverse, but the reverse has a legend which reads: *Mahārāja-Śrī-Chandraguptah.*

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1. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. lxxxi-ii, lxxxvii, cxii-iii cxiv, 34-37, 52-53; and pls. viii (nos 1-10) and xi (nos. 2-4).

2. Two varieties of the obverse type may be distinguished according as the traces of Kushāna influence are more or less marked. On the first, the king dressed in tight-fitting Kushāna trousers stands stiffly, and his head covered with short curls is encircled by a nimbus. (Allan *ibid*, pl. viii, nos. 1-6 and 9). On the second, the king wearing diaphanous *dhoti* stands more at ease, and his head covered with wig-like hair is bereft of the surrounding aureole. (Allan, *ibid*, pl. viii, nos. 7, 8 and 10). Of these varieties, the first shows a closer affinity to the Kushāna proto-type of the Gupta gold coins than the latter. These differences of fabric possibly denote the issues of different districts. (Cf. Allan, *ibi*, p. lxvii).

3. Allan distinguishes several varieties of the reverse type on the last of which the goddess, in his view, is "walking to left, but holding lotus only. His plate, however, shows the goddess holding lotus-flower by stalk in her right hand and *a sheaf of corn in her left*. (Allan, *ibid*, pl. viii, no. 10). It is possible, as Dr. J. N. Banerjea suggests, that here we have a representation of Bhūmī-devī and Lakshmī-Srī, the consorts of Vishnu, fused in one.

No very satisfactory explanation has yet been offered of this very interesting coin-type showing on the obverse, a *vāmana* holding *maṅgala-chhatra* over the king's head. Mr. Allan has, it is true, already noticed the technical meaning of the *chhatra* as a symbol of royal power. But beyond this no serious attempt has been made so far at an explanation of the type as a whole. The real significance of the coin-type may, however, be recognised by a reference to the sections on *Pañchamahāpurusha-lakshaṇam* and *Chhatra-lakshanam* of the *Brihatsaṃhitā*.[1]

It has been noticed above that the obverse of the *Chhatra* type shows a *vāmana* holding a *chhatra* with floating *patākā* over the king's head. There can be little doubt that this *chhatra* is the *sveta-* or *mangala-chhatra* of the king, an auspicious symbol of royalty or *rājalakshana*. It is interesting to note in this connexion the following passage in the *Brihatsaṃhitā*[2] :

Nichitaṃ tu haṃsapakshaiḥ krikavākumayūrasārasānām cha,
Daukulena navena tu samantataśchhāditam suklam.
Muktāphalairupachitaṁ pralambamālāvilam sphatikamūlam,
Shaddhastasuddhahaimam navaparvanagaikadandam cha.
Dandārdhavistritam tat samāvritaṃ ratnavibhūshitamudagram,
Nripatestadātapatram kalyānaparam vijayadam cha.

The above passage shows that a king's *chhatra*, according to Varāhamihira, should have the following attributes among others. Thus, it should be all-white, and decorated with pearls and hanging wreaths; it should also be high, having a staff three yards long. All the attributes of a royal *chhatra*, mentioned by Varāhamihira, could not, for obvious reasons, be shown on the coins. But the unusually long staff and the floating *patākā* attached to the *chhatra* in the coin-device leave little room for doubt that it is really intended for the *sveta-* or *maṅgala-chhatra* of the king.[3] When made according to the specifications laid down by Varāhamihira, the *chhatra* brings great good and victory to the king whose head is covered by it.[4] It has already been remarked that the *chhatra* is a symbol of royal power. Strictly speaking, however, the *chhatra* is a symbol indicative of not mere royal power, but of great royal power like that exercised by a *Chakravartin-rājā*. In the Aphsaḍ stone-inscription king Adityasena is described as "*svetā-tapatra-sthagita-vasumati-maṇḍalo-lokapālah*".[5] A similar claim on the part of Chandragupta II is probably indicated by the *maṅgala-chhatra* above his head on the coins of the *Chhatra* type. Such a claim cannot be regarded as at all

1. *Br. Sam.* (Kern's ed.). chs. 69 and 73.
2. *Ibid*, ch. 78, Chhatra-lakshanam.
3. Cf. '*shaḍḍhasta*' and '*udagram*' of the passage quoted above.
4. Cf. '*nripatestadātapatram*' etc. of the passage quoted above.
5. Fleet, *CII*, vol. iii, p. 204, 1.21-22.

inappropriate in the case of this Gupta emperor who in his own coin-legend is described as "*kshitimavajitya sucharitairdivaṃ jayati Vikramādityaḥ*",[1] and who is known to have ruled over a vast empire in Northern India.

The appearance of a *vāmana* or dwarf, holding the *maṅgala-chhatra*, is also very interesting. Obviously, the figure stands for the attendant *chhatradhara* of the king. But a deeper significance, not yet recognised, seems to attach to the *vāmana* in the role of a royal attendant. An explanation of this inner significance may be found in the section on *Pañchamahā-purushalakshaṇam* of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. Therein Varāhamihira divides men into two broad types, namely, the *mahāpurusha* (or simply *purusha*) and the *saṅkīrṇa purusha*[2]. Each of these two types of men is again sub-divided into five classes. The five classes of *mahāpurushas*, according to Varāhamihira, are the *Haṁsa*, the *Śaśa*, the *Ruchaka*, the *Bhadra*, and the *Mālavya*, born during the ascendancy of the planets *Bṛihaspati* (Jupiter), *Śani* (Saturn), *Maṅgala* (Mars), *Budha* (Mercury) and *Śukra* (Venus) respectively. Thus,

> Tārāgrahairbalayutaiḥ svakshetrasvochchagaiśchatushṭa-
> yagaiḥ,
> Pañchapurushāḥ praśastā jāyante tānaham vakshye.
> Jīvena bhavati haṃsaḥ saureṇa śaśaḥ kujena ruchakaścha,
> Bhadro budhena balinā mālavyo daityapūjyena[3]

Besides the five classes of *mahāpurushas*, Varāhamihira also mentions five classes of *saṅkīrṇa-purushas*. These are the *Vāmana*, the *Jaghanya*, the *Kubja*, the *Maṇḍalaka*, and the *Sāmī*.[4] While the *mahāpurushas* become kings, the *saṅkīrṇa-purushas* become their attendants.[5] Thus, the *Jaghanya* becomes an attendant of the *Mālavya-purusha*.[6] the *Kubja* of the *Haṁsa-purusha*,[7] the *Maṇḍalaka* of the *Ruchaka-purusha*,[8] and the *Sāmī* of the *Śaśa-purusha*.[9] Of the *Vāmana* the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* has the following :

1. Cf. "*kritsna-prithvi-jayārthena rājñaivoha sahāgataḥ*" of the Udaygiri-Cave inscription of Chandragupta II. See, Sarkar, D.C , *Select Inscriptions*, vol. i, p. 272, 1. 5.

2. *Br. Sam*. (Kern's ed.), ch. 69, v. 4 : *Taddhātu-mahābhūta-prakṛitid-dyutivrṛna-sattva-rūpādyaiḥ/ A-bala-rarindu-yutaistaih saṅkirṇā lakshaṇaiḥ purushāḥ//*

3. *Ibid*, ch. 69, vv. 1-2.

4. *Ibid*, ch. 69, v. 31 : *Pañchāpare vāmanako jaghanyaḥ kubjo'paro maṇḍalako'tha sāmi/*

5. *Ibid*, ch. 69, v. 31 : *Pūrvokta-bhūpānucharā bhavanti saṅkirṇa-sañjñāḥ* ; also v. 6 : *saṅkīrṇāḥ syurna nṛipā.*

6. *Ibid*, ch. 69, v. 33 : *Mālavya-sevī tu jaghanya-nāmā.*

7. *Ibid*, ch. 69, v. 35 : *Kubjo nāmnā yaḥ sa śuddho hyadhastāt kshiṇaḥ kiñchit-pūrvakāyo natadeha Hamsā-sevī nāstiko'rthairupeto vidvān sūrāḥ sūchakaḥ syāt kritajñaḥ.*

8. *Ibid*, ch. 69, v. 37 ; *Maṇḍalaka-nāmadheyo ruchakānucharo'bhichāra-vitkuśalaḥ.*

9. *Ibid*, ch. 69, v. 39 : *Sāmiti yaḥ so'tivirūpa-dohaḥ śaśanugāmī khalu durbhagaścha..*

Sampūrṇāṅgo Vāmano bhagnaprishṭhaḥ kiñchichchorur-
madhyakakshāntareshu,
Khyāto rājño hyesha bhadrānujīvī sphīto dātā vāsudevasya
bhaktah.[1]

The passage is interesting as showing that the *Vāmana* is the particular attendant of the *Bhadra-mahāpurusha* and is a devotee of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu. The appearance of a *Vāmana* on the obverse of the *Chhatra* type of Chandragupta II as an attendant of the king may now be taken to contain a suggestion that the king is a *Bhadra-mahāpurusha.* According to Varāhamihira, the *Bhadra-mahāpuruṣha* is a ruler of the *Madhyadeśa,* who becomes the lord of the whole earth if at the time of his birth three of the planets happen to shed their lustre—*madhya-deśanṛipatiryadi pushṭāstryādayo'sya sakalāvanināthaḥ.*[2] It is further said that the *Bhadra-mahāpurusha* goes to Heaven by giving up his life at a *tīrtha,* after having enjoyed the whole earth, earned by his prowess, for eighty years. Thus,

Bhuktvā samyagvasudhāṃ śauryeṇopārjitāmaśītyabdaḥ,
Tīrthe prāṇāṁstyaktvā bhadro devālayaṁ yāti.[3]

The above makes it quite clear that the *Bhadra-mahāpurusha,* though primarily a ruler of the *Madhyadeśa,* is also something of a *Chakravartin-rājā.* The dominion ascribed to the *Bhadra-mahāpurusha* applies very well to Chandragupta II. He inherited from his father an empire roughly coextensive with the *Madhyadeśa,* and though his claim to have conquered the whole earth is an obvious exaggeration, yet there can be no doubt that he was the greatest and the most powerful king of his time in India. It should be noted here that of the five *mahāpurushas* only the *Bhadra* is credited with overlordship of the earth by Varāhamihira.[4]

A *vāmana* makes his appearance also on the obverse of Samudragupta's Battle-Axe gold coins.[5] He stands in front of the king, holding a short *daṇḍa* up to him. The *daṇḍa* here is probably to be identified with the *rāja-daṇḍa* or royal mace which, like the *chhatra,* is a symbol of royalty. There is little difficulty in identifying this *vāmana* holding *daṇḍa* as the king's attendant *daṇḍa-dhara.* Here, as on the *Chhatra* type coins of Chandragupta II, the appearance of a *vāmana* as a royal attendant probably contains a clever hint that the king is a *Bhadra-mahāpurusha,* that is, a ruler of the *Madhyadeśa* exercising the paramount powers of a *Chakravartin-rājā.* It is well known that Samudragupta extended the boundaries of his

1. *Ibid,* ch. 69, v. 32.
2. *Ibid,* ch. 69, v. 18.
3. *Ibid,* ch. 69, v. 19.
4. Cf. *Br. Sam.* (Kern's ed.), ch. 69, vv. 11-12, 23, 26 and 30.
5. Allan, *ibid,* pp. 12-15, and pl. iv, nos. 8-16. The *daṇḍa,* which Allan describes as possibly a sword, is visible only on nos. 15 and 16 of the plate.

ancestral dominions, limited at first to S. Bihar, Oudh and the Benares-Allahabad tract, to the farthest limits of the *Madhyadeśa* and beyond, uprooting by *force majeure* the various kings of *Aryāvarta*, and performed the *Aśvamedha* as a mark of his paramountcy. The appearance of a *rāja-daṇḍa* in the hands of the *vāmana*-attendant of the king is also interesting in view of the fact that Samudragupta is called a *'prachaṇḍa-śāsana'* in the Allahabad *praśasti* of Harisheṇa. The *rāja-daṇḍa*, symbolising as it does the fierce aspect of a king's rule, his armed might, makes a fitting appearance on the coins of Samudragupta, whose reign was mainly taken up by wars for the establishment of Gupta paramountcy in N. India. In contrast the reign of Chandragupta II was peaceful. All serious opposition had been quelled, and the Gupta monarch had become the unquestioned overlord of N. India. The fierceness of Samudragupta's rule was no longer required, as the Gupta emperor was now sure of his position. Therefore, on the coins of Chandragupta II the *rāja-daṇḍa* is appropriately replaced by a *maṅgala-chhatra* symbolising the quiet dominion of a paramount sovereign.

The appearance of a *vāmana* on the coins of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II is also interesting from another point of view. The *vāmana*, according to Varāhamihira, is a particular devotee of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu.[1] Its appearance on Chandragupta II's coins is, thus, fully consistent with the known cult-devotion of the king who calls himself a *parama-bhāgavata* in inscriptions and coin-legends. It is to be noted that with the *vāmana-chhatradhara* on the obverse of Chandragupta II's *Chhatra* type coins, there is either Srī or Garuḍa on the reverse, both of which have unmistakable Pāñcharātra association. While Śrī occupies an important niche among the Pāñcharātra cult-deities as the chief consort of the Para-Vāsudeva, Garuḍa is associated with him as his *lāñchhana*. The *vāmana* on Samudragupta's Battle-Axe coins may similarly contain a reference to the king's cult-devotion. Though he is never described as a *parama-bhāgavata* in inscriptions and coin-legends, and is actually called a *Kritāntaparaśu*, yet there are good grounds for believing that, like Chandragupta II, Samudragupta was also a devotee of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu. Mention may be made here of the *Garuḍa-dhvaja*[2], which appears in the field on the obverse of several varieties of his

23. The *vāmana* holding *daṇḍa* and *chhatra* respectively on the coins of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II reminds Dr. J.N. Banerjea of the Vāmana, the incarnation of Vishṇu, who has in his hands *daṇḍa* and *chhatra*, the attributes of a Brahmachārin.

24. The *garuḍa* appears to have been the family crest of the Guptas. Cf. "*garutmaddāṅka-svavishayabhukti-śāsana-yāchana*" of the Allahabad *praśasti* of Harisheṇa.

gold coins in the same position which on the Kushāna prototypes is occupied by a *triśūla*-standard. There can be but one reason for the substitution of the *triśūla*-standard by a *Garuḍa-dhvaja*, when the Gupta die-cutter was such a die-hard as to retain the throne-back even where the goddess on the reverse is seated on a lion;[1] and that is, that the *triśūla* which is of particular Saivite significance[2] would be a misfit on the coins of a king devoted to Vāsudeva-Vishṇu.[2]

It may be noted *en passant* that in Indian tradition the *vāmana* is frequently associated with royalty as an auspicious omen. Monumental evidence supports this tradition. Thus, the scene of the "lustration of a prince" at Ajantā shows a *vāmana* carrying on his head the *upachāras* for the ceremony.[3] The scene of the "war of the seven kings for the Buddha's relics" at Sāñchī shows a half-kneeling *vāmana* behind a royal chariot.[4] Again, at Sāñchī the scene of "Aśoka s visit to the Bodhi-tree of Śākyamuni" shows a "person of short stature on whom the king is leaning, as he dismounts from his kneeling elephant."[5] All this proves that the tradition of the association of *vāmana* with royalty as an attendant *de bon augure* is very old in India. It is possible that, as evidenced by monumental representations, such an association at first carried with it no particular suggestion about the rank and dominion of the king. Gradually, it appears, from textual and numismatic evidence here considered, that the *vāmana* came to be associated with kings belonging to the class of *Bhadra-mahāpurushas*, that is, rulers of the *Madhyadeśa* exercising the paramount powers of a *Chakravartin-rājā*.

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE.

There s no doubt that Chandragupta II, being a great conqueror iruling over Madhyadeśa, belongs to the category of the *bhadramahāpurusha* as described by Varāhmihira; Mr. Kar is to be congratulated on bringing to notice the connection of the *bhadramahāpurusha* with a *vāmana*, as postulated by the same author, and as shown in the *Chhatra* type of coins. I however doubt very much whether the theories of Varāhamihira were known to or followed by the mint-masters of the Guptas. If such were the case, probably all the Gupta emperors would have issued the *Chhatra* as one of their types, representing themselves as attended by a *vāmana*. As it is, it is only

1. Allan, *ibid*, pl. iii, nos. 1-10 (Chandragupta I Type).
2. Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 129-30.
3. Yazdani, Ajantā Paintings, Pt. 1, Pl. XXI no. b.
4. Marshall, *Guide to Sāñchi*, pl. iv, b.
5. Marshall and Foucher, *Monuments of Sāñchi*, II, pl. 40 and note. The author is indebted for this reference to Dr. J. N. Banerjea of the Calcutta University.

Chandragupta II who has issued this type. Why should not Kumāragupta I or Skandagupta have issued the *Chhatra* type or some other tpye, where they would have been shown attended by a *vāmana*, if they had been widely known in their times as *Bhadramahāpurushas*, as known to Varāhamihira ?

Varāhamihira says that *vāmana* himself was to be a *Vishnubhakta* and not his master. I therefore fail to understand how the presence of the *vāmana* on the coins of Chandragupta or Samudragupta contains a reference to their cult devotion, as Mr. Kar suggests (p. 30) Varāhmihira apparently suggests that all the attendants of a *bhadramahāpurusha* were to be *vāmanas*, and therefore *ipso facto* Vaishnavas; we however know that some of the officers of Chandragupta II like Amrakārdava were Buddhists, and others like Śikharasvāmi and Śāba were Śaivas.

As Mr. Kar himself has observed, kings in India used to have among their attendants a number of *vāmanas*; and one of them is shown as the umbrella-bearer on the coins. It is also not unlikely that artistic convention may be to some extent responsible for the attendants being shown as smaller in stature. To show the *chhatra*-bearer as tall as the emperor would seem to indicate that both were of equal importance. It was therefore probably felt that it would be better to show him as a dwarf in stature. We cannot say that want of space on the coin flan was responsible for the diminishing of the size of the attendant; for the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī and the Skandagupta-Lakshmī types show that when necessary the mint masters could engrave two human figures in their proper relative sizes.

It is quite possible to assume that Varāhamihira may have based his definition of a *Bhadramahāpurusha* on the notions current as early as the Gupta period, and that it may have been responsible for the Vāmana making his appearance on the Battle-axe and Chhatra types. It has however to be admitted that there is no evidence to show that the notion was widely popular in the Gupta Age, and it is quite possible to explain the above types as dictated by the artistic convention to represent the emperor as taller and more prominent than his servants and umbrella-bearers.

THE BHAVISHYOTTARA PURĀṆA AND EARLY GUPTA HISTORY.

By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.,

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Recently I had to deal with a work entitled *Krishṇacharita* alleged to be a composition of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta. [See *Pravāsī* (Bengali), Pausha, 1350 B.S. (December, 1943)] The book is edited and published in 1941 by Rājavaidya Paṇḍita Jīvarāma Kālidasa from the Rasaśālā Aushadhāśrama at Gondal, Kathiawar. I have suggested that the *Krishṇacharita* or at least its colophon attributing the authorship to Samudragupta is a recent forgery. It is no doubt a matter of regret that forgery is going to be a disturbing element in the way of the progress of Indological studies especially in regard to the age of the Guptas.

Prof. A. S. Altekar, Chief Editor of the *JNSI*, must be congratulated for his criticism of a story about the Early Guptas alleged to be found in the *Kaliyugarājavrittānta* section of the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* (cf. *above*, V, p. 36n). The details of the story, most of which go against definitely known facts of Indian history, have been rightly condemned as "suspicious and late." As a matter of fact Samudragupta was certainly a Parākrmāṅka and a Vikrama (i. e., Vikramāditya) as known from his coins and inscriptions, and not an Asokāditya as alleged in the Purāṇa passage. But Prof. Altekar remarks:— "It is however not unlikely that inspite of the mixture of the doubtful traditions, the statement that Kācha was another son of Chandragupta I may be true. A later interpolator is not likely to devise from his memory a name otherwise unknown to him and not current in his days."

In my humble opinion, the whole passage is a forgery which may be assigned to a period later than the middle of the 19th century. The person responsible for the fraud apparently knew some details of Early Gupta history furnished by epigraphic and numismatic evidence and a few unwarranted conjectures of earlier researchers based on them. The passage seems to have been composed after research on Gupta history, epigraphy and numismatics already passed its first stage ; but it is quite probable that the whole thing was fabricated some time after the publication of Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III). Very useful light on this subject

will no doubt come from a thorough examination of the existing manuscripts of the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa*. It should be noted that no manuscript of the work with details of Gupta history has been noticed by any of the authors of the numerous Catalogues of Sanskrit MSS in different parts of the world.

It appears that the necessity of sticking to the name-ending *gupta* was felt only after Chandragupta I, son of the Ghaṭotkacha (*not* Ghaṭotkacha*gupta*), became an emperor; compare the analogous case of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal founded by Gopāla, son of Vapyaṭa and grandson of Dayitavishṇu. It is therefore not unlikely that the immediate successors of Chandragupta I had originally names without the *gupta* ending. We know that Chandragupta II was often called by his *priyanāma* Devarāja (made Deva*gupta* in later records belonging to the King's daughter's son, Pravarasena II Vākāṭaka). The original and popular name of Samudragupta may be conjectured to have been Kācha. It is no doubt a conjecture; but it appears to be less objectionable than others in the present state of our knowledge of Gupta epigraphy and numismatics. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 268 f., 492 f. Amongst the names of the immediate successors of Gopāla of Bengal, notice has to be taken in this connection of Vikramaśīla (usually identified with Dharmapāla, son of Gopāla) and Hāravarsha (usually identified with Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla) which are without the *pāla* ending and are found in Abhinanda's *Rāmacharita*. Cf. *Kāyastha Patrikā* (Bengali), Srāvana, 1344 B.S., p. 113; also Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, p. 123.

POST-SCRIPT

The above was written on the basis of the quotation printed in *JNSI*, V, pp. 35-36n. After, however, my note was sent for publication, I have seen several articles based on the lamentable idea that the *Bhavishyottara Purāna* account of the Imperial Guptas is more authentic than the official documents and coin legends of the Gupta emperors. I have now examined the whole Puranic passage. The mention of Pūrugupta,—the reading being now established beyond doubt—as Sthiragupta in the above passage makes it perfectly clear that it was composed shortly after the publication of the Bhitari seal by Hoernle in *JASB*, LVIII, Part i, p. 89, when scholars were not yet inclined towards the reading *Puragupta* subsequently adopted (cf. Fleet, *IA*, XIX, p. 225). It is a matter of satisfaction that no less an authority on Gupta history than Dr. R. C. Majumdar, as I have come to know, has exposed the fabricated nature of the Puranic passage in question in an article to be shortly published in *IHQ*. Needless to say that Dr. B. Bhattacharya (*JBRS*, March, 1944;

JGJRI, May, 1944) seeking to establish the historicity of the *Kaliyugarājavrittānta* section of the *Bhavishyottora Purāna* and Dr. Rama Rao (*JAHC*, Part 2, 1944) trying to proves the Sātavāhana occupation of Pāṭaliputra immediately before the Guptas about the beginning of the fourth century A. D. have miserably groped in the dark.

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE

In connection with the genuineness of the passage of the *Bhavishyottarapurāṇa*, I may add here that Prof. B. S. Upadhyaya of the Birla College, Pilani, informs me that he had carried on a long correspondence with Mr. Krishnamachari for two years from 1939 to 1941 with a view to find out the whereabouts of the Ms. of the *Bhavishyottarapruāṇa* containing the passage quoted by him in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*. On learning that the Ms. was with Mr. Krishnamachari himself at Tirupati, Mt. Upadhyaya intimated to him that he would visit that place to examine it. Mr. Krishnamachari then inforn ed him that the particular pages in the Ms. were lost in the interval, and so he could not show them to him. Mr. Krishnamachari is no more living and so the matter cannot be pursued further.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE COINS OF ṬABARISTAN

By J. M. Ūnvala, Ph.D., (Heidelberg)

In recent years, a hoard of several hundred hemidrachms of silver, struck by the Arab governors and Zoroastrain insurgents of Tabaristān, was discovered very probably in the course of the work of the Transiranian Railway. This hoard was acquired, as it is always the case, by a Jew, dealing in antiquities in Teheran. I examined the coins of this hoard in his shop and bought out of them twenty-five which are important for the chronology of the Arab governors, and particularly interesting for their rarity. Sa'īd, Muqātil, Hānī, Qudaid, and 'Abd-'ullāh are represented among these governors; there is also a big number of anonymous coins. Two anonymous coins, dated 142 of the Ṭabaristān era, are two new examples of a coin published by Mordtmann in *ZDMG.*, XIX, p. 493, No. 126, and incorporated by me in my *Numismatique du Ṭabaristān*, Paris 1938, as No. 1963 of the Catalogue[2]. These anonymous coins of 142 T. E. give us the approximate date of the burial of the hoard.

I had to hasten the publication of my above-mentioned work for certain reasons, and therefore, I could not insert in the catalogue 37 coins of the Collection of Madame Godard of Teheran, 124 coins of the Collection of Colonel E. von Zambaur, now preserved in the Cabinet of the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna, 12 *unnumbered* coins of the Cabinet of the Kaiser Friedrichs Museum of Berlin, and 25 coins of my collection. An examination of these coins necessitates the modification of the synchronism of the Caliphs and the Arab governors of Ṭabaristān (Appendix III, p. 22), as follows :

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1. Walker considers these AFZUT or so-called "Anonymous" coins with dates from 129 to 143 T. E. (Post-Yazdagard era) = A. H. 164-178 = A. D. 780-794 as struck by Arab governors themselves, and says that in fact the names of Jarīr and Ma'add are found in the margin of the coins of 135 T. E. and 138 T. E. respectively, and that as late as in 161 T. E. al-Faḍl ibn Sahl employed the AFZUT type (*A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1941. pp. lxxii-lxxiii). It is, at any rate, extraordinary to have the names of these governors in the margin. These names and the Arabic expression بخ بخ and the letter ع, might have possibly been added later to the usual Pahlavi legends of the AFZUT coins, dated 134-137 and 142-143 T. E.

2. Also RB. 11 (Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford); Walker, p. 159 and pl. XXVII. 15.

Date in T.E.	Caliphs	Arab governors
126	Al-Mahdī	'Omar, Sa'īd, *Muqātil.*[1]
129		'Omar, Sa'īd, Yaḥyā b. Mikhnāq, Muqātil, *Hānī*, Anonymous.
138	Hārūn-ar-Rashīd	Muqātil, Ma'add, Hānī, *Anonymous.*
140		*Muqātil, Yaḥyā b. Mikhnāq,* 'Abd-'-ullāh. Ibrāhīm, Qudaid, Anonymous.
141		*Muqātil* 'Abd-'ullāh, Ibrāhīm, Anonymous.

Again, the same examination forces me to make the following modifications in the Appendix II, p. 21, in which I have given a list of rare coins of Ṭabaristān (S. Pl. I) :

Source	Date in T.E.	Ispahbad or Governor	Number of coins
Zambaur[1]	72	Farr[2]ox^{v}	1 (unpublished)
Unvala, CF. Paris, *Zambaur*	126[3]	Sa'īd ibn Da'laj	3
Mme. Godard	126	Muqātil	1 (unpublished)
Zambaur	129	Hāni	1 (unpublished)
Copenhagen, Muracciole, *Mme. Godard*	133	Muqātil	6

1. The names in Italics of governors and owners indicate unpublished coins.

2. Walker reads the names of the Ispahbads Farrox^{v} and Farrox^{v}ān (FRHN and FRHNAN) both as Farkhān, following therein Arab and Persian historians; on this point see my *Numismatique du Ṭabaristān*, pp. 7-8. He considers the form FRHNAN more archaic, without giving another example of such archaism (p. 130).

3. Also I. 53 (Istanbul Museum) ; Walker, pp. 142 and 208.

4. Walker (p. 148) adds a stroke before the date and reads it 139, which is the common date.

(*Continued on the next page*)

Source	Date in T. E.	Ispahbad or Governor	Number of coins
Zubov, *Mme. Godard*	136[1]	Muqātil	4
Zubov, *Unvala*	137[1]	Muqātil	3
Mme. Godard	138[2]	Anonymous	2 (unpublished)
Unvala	140[1]	Muqātil	1 (unpublished)
Mme. Godard	140	Yahyā b. Minkhāq	1 (unpublished)
Muracciole, Zambaur,[4] *Unvala*	140[3]	Qudaid	3
Unvala	141[1]	Muqātil	1 (unpublished)
Zambaur, Unvala	141[1]	'Abd-'ullāh (first variety)	2
Unvala, Mordtmann[5]	142[6]	Anonymous	2

This list shows us that in the series of Ṭabaristān coins there are eight unpublished pieces. They are unique and precious documents for the history of this country, because, just as I have already shown in my above-mentioned work, the Arab and Persian historians have very little or nothing to tell us about great many of these Arab governors, and in some cases, they are ignorant about the existence of others, e.g.

(*Continued from the last page*)

The prohibitive cost of photo-zinco plates had forced me to give in my work only one plate, illustrating the unpublished coins of Farrox̌v, and a few other important Ṭabaristān coins, and some Sassanian coins from Susa. This lack of illustrations of coins had called forth repeated criticisms from Walker who could illustrate 115 coins on seven plates, as his *Catalogue of Arab-Sassanian Coins* has been printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. Still, I have given in plates I-XLV of the Catalogue of Ṭabaristān Coins as faithful a facsimile as possible of the legends and other distinctive features of 2013 coins.

1. These five coins which I had communicated to Walker have been published by him ; see pp. 148-151 and 210-212. They were acquired by me after the publication of my *Numismatique du Ṭabaristān*. I had written the present article originally in French as early as in June 1939 for the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, Vol. XXXI.

2. Also Ox. 10 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) ; Walker pp. 158 and 214.

3. Walker, pp. 152 and 212.

4. It is the coin No. 1657a of my Catalogue, pl. XXXV.

5. *ZDMG.*, XIX, p. 493, No. 126 —Prokesch-Osten.

6. Also RB. 11 (Sir Richard Burn Collection, Oxford) ; Walker pp. 159 and 214.

Qudaid[1] and Nosair.[2] An important authority on the Arab history of the eighth and ninth century A.D., like Colonel E. von Zambaur, has not come across a single document about these two governors.

The coin of Farrox^v, dated 72 T. E. (Collection of Zambaur), lengthens the reign of this Ispahbad by two years, i.e. 60-72 T. E. We have for the year 72 two coins, one of Farrox^v and the other, that of his successor Farrox^{v}ān. This fact is not surprising for the reason given in §13 of the introduction of my work. Another fact becomes evident from this new find, viz. that Muqātil, regarding whom history is silent, was certainly an energetic man, to whom the Caliphs entrusted the government (as sub-governor ?; John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1941, p. lxxix) of rhe province of Ṭabaristān which was in a troubled state since the revolt of Vindād Hormizd in 129 T. E. He was appointed governor by al-Mahdī in 126 with 'Omar and Sa'īd as co-governors, in 129 with 'Omar, Sa'īd, Yaḥyā b. Mikhnāq, and Hānī, and in 133 with Sulaimān, very probably always for some months; finally we find him as governor for six years in succession from 136 to 141 T. E. with other co-governors. In the absence of documentary evidence, it is not possible for me to determine the exact functions which were incumbent on these governors. Similarly, we find Hānī as governor first in 129 and then in 137 and 138, and Yaḥyā b. Mikhnāq as governor again in 140. These are certainly new historical facts. Walker says on p. lxxiii concerning these governors, as follows: "These (military) governors or their deputies, or perhaps at times the leader of a military expedition, seem to have struck coins independently of one another in the same years with their own names". Again, the two anonymous coins of 138 of the Collection of Mme. Godard and the two other coins of 139, one published by Dorn (Do. 7) in *Mélanges Asiatiques*. II, p. 280, and the other recorded by Père Paulin Lemaire in the Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem (Walker, p. 158) fill the lacuna in the chronology of this interesting series of anonymous coins.

1. Cf. Walker, pp. lxxix-lxxx.

2. Cf. Walker, pp. xcvii-xcviii and 217.

Lists of the Coins of Ṭabaristān.[1]

1. Coins of the Collection of Colonel E. von Zambaur in the Cabinet of the Kunst-historisches Museum of Vienna.

No.	Museum No.	Ispahbad or Governor	Date in T.E.
1	7007	Farroxᵛ	72
2–4	641–643/7009–7011	Farroxᵛān	75
5	644/7012	,,	76
6	7280	,,	,,
7	640/7008	,,	77
8	7013	Dāt-burz-mihr	87
9	7014	Xᵛaršīt	89
10	647/7015	,,	90
11	648/7016	,,	91
12	649/7017	,,	92
13	650/7018	,,	93
14	651/7019	,,	94
15–16	653–654/7021–7022	,,	95
17	655/7023	,,	97
18	656/7024	,,	98
19–20	657–658/7025–7026	,,	100
21–24	660–663/7028–7031	,,	102
25	659/7027	,,	103
26	664/7032	,,	,,
27	652/7020	,,	104
28–29	669–670/7033–7034	,,	,,
30	671/7035	,,	106
31–32	672–673/7036–7037	,,	111
33	674/7038	Khālid (name in Pahlavi characters)	119
34	675/7039	'Omar (name in Pahlavi characters)	120
35	7272	,,	,,
36	676/7040	,,	121
37–38	678–679/7041–7042	,,	124
39	7274	,,	,,

1. I have prepared nine facsimile plates of the coins given in the lists Nos. 1-9 on the lines followed in my *Numismatique du Ṭabaristān.* The prohibitive cost of reproducing them by the photo-zinco process has, however, forced me to publish in this article the above lists, giving therein only the names of the Ispahbads and the Governors who had issued these coins, and the dates of their issue. The facsimile at the end of this paper gives the Pahlavi legends and other distinctive features of rare coins of Ṭabaristān.

No.	Museum No.	Ispahbad or Governor	Date in T.E.
40	682/7046	'Omar (name in Cufic characters)	121
41	7043	,,	122
		Governor	
42	680/7044	'Omar (name in Cufic characters)	122
43	7273	,,	,,
44	681/7045	,,	124
45	688/7047	,,	127
46	684/7048	,,	,,
47–49	685–687/7049–7051	,,	128
50–52	688–690/7052–7054	,,	129
53–54	691–692/7055–7056	Sa'īd	126
55	7271	,,	,,
56	694/7058	,,	127
57	693/7057	Sa'īd ibn Da'laj	126
58	695/7059	Yaḥyā	129
59–62	711–714/7075–7078	Muqātil	139
63–64	702–703/7066–7067	Sulaimān	137
65	705/7068	,,	,,
66	7279	,,	,,
67	696/7060	Jarīr	135
68	697/7061	,,	136
69	7275	Hānī	129
70	704/7069	,,	137
71–72	706–707/7070–7071	,,	,,
73–75	708–710/7072–7074	,,	138
76–77	716–717/7080–7081	'Abd-'ullāh	140
78	715/7079	,,	141
79	701/7065	Qudaid	140
80–81	718–719/7082–7083	Ibrāhīm	141
82	736/7100	Anonymous	130
83–84	744–745/7108–7109	,,	,,
85	7278	,,	,,
86	743/7107	,,	132
87	746/7110	,,	,,
88	749/7113	,,	,,
89	725/7089	,,	133
90	727/7091	,,	,,

No.	Museum No.	Anonymous	Date in T. E.
91	729/7093	,,	133
92	732/7096	,,	,,
93–96	739–742/7103–7106	,,	,,
97	743/7112	,,	,,
98	747/7111	,,	,,
99	750/7114	,,	,,
100–101	723–724/7087–7088	,,	134
102–105	751–754/7115–7118	,,	,,
106	7277	,,	,,
107–109	698–700/7062–7064	,, (Jarīr in margin)	135
110–112	720–722/7084–7086	,,	,,
113	737–7101	,,	,,
114	756/7120	,,	,,
115	726/7090	,,	136
116	728/7092	,,	,,
117	730/7094	,,	,,
118	738/7102	,,	,,
119	731/7095	,,	137
120	755/7119	,,	141
121	7276	,,	,,
122	733/7097	,,	142 (third type)[1]
123–124	734–735/7098–7099	,,	143

2. Coins of the Collection of Dr. J. M. Unvala, now in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay.

No.	Ispahbad or Governor	Date in T. E.	No.	Governor	Date in T. E.
1	X'aršīt	101	15	'Abd-'ullāh	140
2	,,	111	16	,,	141
3	Sa'īd	126	17	Qudaid	140
4–5	Muqātil	137	18–19	Anonymous	130
6–9	,,	139	20	,,	133
10	,,	140	21	,,	136
11	,,	141	22	,,	141
12	Hānī	137	23–24	,,	142
13–14	,,	138	25	,,	,, (third type)[1]

1. Cf. *Numismatique du Ṭabaristân*, p. 18, Sec. 9.

3. Coins of the Cabinet of the Kaiser Friedrichs Museum of Berlin.

No.	Ispahbad or Governor	Date in T. E.
1	Xᵛaršīt	94
2	,,	95
3	,,	98
4	,,	102
5	,,	105
6	,,	106
7	'Omar (name in Cufic characters)	122
8	,,	124
9	,,	129
10	Anonymous	122
11–12	,,	130

4. Coins of the Collection of Madame Godard of Teheran.

No.	Ispahbad or Governor	Date in T. E.
1	Farroxᵛ	66
2	Xᵛaršīt	105
3	,,	114
4	'Omar (name in Pahlavi characters)	120
5	,,	124
6	'Omar (name in Cufic characters)	122
7	,,	124
8	,,	128
9	Yaḥyā	140
10	Muqātil	126
11–12	,,	133
13–14	,,	136
15	,,	139
16–18	Sulaimān	137
19–20	Jarīr	136
21–22	Hānī	137
23–27	'Abd-'ullāh	140
28–29	Ibrāhīm	140
30–33	Anonymous	136
34	,,	137
35–36	,,	138
37	,,	141

Finally, mention must be made of a copper coin of Jarīr, dated 136, of my collection. Its diametre is 21,5 mm.

A FACSIMILE OF THE PAHLAVI LEGENDS AND OF SOME DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE RARE COINS OF ṬABARISTAN

		OBVERSE							REVERSE			
No.	Date	On r. of the effigy — Ispahbad or Governor	Crown on left	Crown on right	1st line on l. of effigy	2nd line on l. of the effigy	2nd quarter of the margin	3rd quarter of the margin	On l. of the Fire-altar; date	On r. of the Fire-altar, mint	Flame on its l.	Flame on its r.
1	72	[illegible]	*:	*	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]	*	∪
2	126	[illegible]	*:	*	"	" "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	*	∪
3	129	[illegible]			"	[illegible]	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	∪	*
4	137	[illegible]	*:	*	"	[illegible]	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	∪	*
5	"	"	*:	*	"	" "	"	"		"	*	*
6	140	"	*:	*	"	" "	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	∪	∪
7	[illegible]	[illegible]	*:	*	"	" "	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	*	∪
8	141	[illegible]	*:	*	"	" "	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*	*
9	"	[illegible]	*:	*	"	" "	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	*	∪
10	"	"	*:	*	"	" "	"	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	*	∪
11	142	[illegible]	*:	*	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	*	*
12	"	" "	*:	*	" "		[illegible]	"	[illegible]	"	∪	∪
13	"	" "	*:	*	" "		2 [illegible]	3 [illegible] 4 [illegible]	[illegible]	"		

7

COINS OF NASĪR SHĀH FARUQI OF KHANDESH

By C. R. Singhal, Bombay.

The coins which form the subject of this paper were first published by me on page 40 of the Numismatic Supplement No. XLII and were tentatively assigned to Nasīr Shāh of Gujarat. This decipherment was later on revised and the same coins were assigned to Nasīr Khan, the Governor and ruler of Kalpi (vide *J.N.S.I.*, II, p. 133).

For the reasons given below, I now set aside both the above views and finally assign these coins to Nasīr Shāh Faruqi of Khandesh.

1. We know from the history of Gujarat that Imad-ul-Mulk, having accomplished the murder of Sikandar, seated his younger brother Nasīr Khān on the throne. This Sultan was hardly six years old, and was a nominal ruler for a short while only. This young prince, while ascending the throne, had assumed the title of Mahmud Shāh but the legend on these coins, gives the name of Nasīr Shāh and not Mahmud Shāh. It has always been customery to strike the coins with the king's royal name and titles which he assumed at the time of ascending the throne and not with his personal name, and this fact is proved by the latest discovery[1] of two silver issues of this ruler; on which the name of the Sultan is inscribed Mahmud Shāh and not Nasīr Shāh. It is, therefore, quite unlikely that these coins were issued by Mahmud Shāh II of Gujarat.

2. In his article No. 289 on "The unassigned coins of Jalal Shāh Sultani" published on page 41 of N. S. No. XLII, Prof. Hodiwala has quoted several references from the contemporary sources and has proved that Jalal Khan and Nasir Khan were the two sons of Abdul Qadir, who held the fief of Kalpi bestowed upon him by the ruler of Malwa. On his death in 835 A.H. his son Jalal Khan was installed in or about 837 as his successor, and at his death which took place some time after 842 A. H. he was followed by his brother Nasir Khan who styled himself as Nasīr Shāh. As he had adopted certain principles which were opposed to the tenets of Islam, and as he used to scandalize the true Muslims, he was the cause of conflict between Mahmud Shāh Khilji of Malwa and Mahmud Shāh Sharqi of Jaunpur. As a result he was temporarily deprived of his estate and was obliged to retreat to Irich, but when he ultimately came to his senses, Kalpi and its dependencies were afterwards restored to him.

Nasīr Shāh held the fief of Kalpi like his forefathers and was acting as a lieutenant of Mahmud Shāh Khilji of Malwa.

We know that at one time when he misbehaved, he was temporarily deprived of his fief and was reinstated only after he mended his ways. This clearly shows that he was not an independent ruler but was a vassal of Malwa, and hence he could not dare to strike coins with such high sounding titles such as ناصرالدنيا والدين i.e. the Helper of the World and the Faith, in face of his powerful neighbouring rulers of Jaunpur and Malwa. Moreover, he was not a true Muslim, was openly against the followers of Islam and used to harass them. He could not, therefore, style himself as "The Helper of the Faith". The legend and caligraphy on these coins does in no way resemble those of his brother Jalal Shāh (vide page 262, *I. M. C.*, Vol. II), and hence these coins cannot be assigned to this Nasīr Shāh of Kalpi, who held the fief of this estate for a short time and was a subordinate chief to the Sultans of Malwa.

3. My reasons for finally assigning these coins to Nasīr Shāh Faruqi of Khandesh are that after the death of his father Malik Raji in 1399 A.D., the country of Khandesh passed on to him. The territory was enlarged to the South, the Hill fort of Asirgarh was captured from the Hindus and Burhanpur was founded and made the Capital by the efforts of this Sultan. He reigned for about 38 years and being protected by and allied to the Gujarat kings, he continued to take full share in all the wars and disputes of the surrounding states. We know from the contemporary sources that relations between the Faruqi rulers and the Sultans of Gujarat were very intimate and that the former were always under the obligations of the latter for their good will and support which they were getting from time to time. He was the first noted ruler of this dynasty and was a contemporary of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarat. The legend ناصرالدنيا والدين ابوالفتح inscribed on the obverse of these coins, very closely resembles with those of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarat and is quite probable that this legend was copied from the coins of his powerful protector and ally of Gujarat. The weight, fabric and calligraphy are quite identical with the copper issues of Ahmad Shāh and there should now be no hesitation in assigning these coins definitely to Nasīr Shāh Faruqi of Khandesh, whose issues have remained unknown so far. For the sake of comparison and proof a reference can be made to coin No. 28 of Ahmad Shāh I published in the *Catalogue of Coins of Gujarat Sultans* in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The coins weigh 140, 134 and 65 grains and the legend is as under :—

Obv :	Rev :
ناصرالدنيا والدين ابو الفتح	ناصرشاه السلطان

A UNIQUE SILVER COIN OF MĀHMUD SHĀH II OF GUJARAT.

By C. R. Singhal, Bombay.

All the historical books concerning the history of Gujarat mention the names of Sikandar Shah and Mahmad Shah II, who after the death of their father Muzaffar Shah II, succeeded to the throne of Gujarat in quick succession in the year 932 A.H. But this historical fact was not corroborated for a very long time by any numismatic evidence and the students of the Gujarat numismatics were led to believe that these two erstwhile rulers passed away without leaving any numismatic record to commemorate them. Ardent coin collectors and scholars such as Dr. Taylor and Prof. Hodivala, who spent most of their time in Gujarat and Kathiawar and who collected large number of mintages of these rulers, were also not so lucky as to procure a single specimen issued by these rulers. In the year 1943 plaster casts of 20 T. T. silver coins discovered from a village near Padra in the Baroda State were received by me for examination from the Archæological Department of Baroda[1] and it was a matter of great pleasure to me to discover from this lot a unique silver issue of Sikandar Shah. This coin which is dated 932 A.H. was recently published by me (*ante*, IV, p. 151). The same hoard of T. T. coins out of which this unique coin was discovered has now been sent to me for detailed examination, and it gives me a still greater pleasure to lay my hands on two silver issues of Mahmud Shah II, struck in the same year as that of his brother Sikandar Shah, viz., 932 A.H.

Now we have got the coins of Muzaffar Shah II and his three sons, viz. Sikandar Shah, Mahmud Shah II and Bahadur Shah struck in the year 932 A.H., and is it not a very important incident in the history of Gujarat that four different rulers succeeded to the throne of Gujarat in one and the same year and in quick succession ?

As regards the history of this Sultan, we know that after having accomplished the murder of Sikandar Shah, Imad-ul-Mulk proclaimed his younger brother Nāsir Khan, a child of six years as Sultan, under the title of Mahmud Shah II. The complete control which was obtained by this minister excited the envy of other nobles who sent secret messages to Sultan Muzaffar's second son, Bahadur Khan, then at Jaunpur, informing

1. Treasure Trove Coins found by the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, at Amla.

him of the turn of events taken and promising him their full support, if he would assert his claim to the throne. Bahadur Khan accepted the invitation and at once advanced to Ahmedabad. Imad-ul-Mulk was immediately seized and executed and a few months later, his infant brother Mahmud Shah II was also poisoned by his orders. Thus came the end of this Sultan.[1]

The legend on this coin, illustrared below, runs as under :—

Obv.

Rev.

Obv : ناصرالدينا والدين
ابوالفتح
سنه ۹۳۲
Mint Mark like this ۲
on "ف" of ابوالفتح

Rev : In a square with double sides peaked.
محمود شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

The legend on the obverse has not been taken from any of the issues of his father, but it has been copied from the common silver issues of his grand father, Mahmud Shah I (vide No. 153 of the *P.W.M.C.*

The legend on the reverse closely resembles to a silver issue of his father (vide No. 462, *P.W.M.C.*). It is interesting to note that in the matter of legend inscribed on his coins, he has followed the course adopted by his elder brother Sikandar Shah (vide p. 153, *J.N.S.I.* Vol. IV, Part II).

The mint mark on the obverse is similar to that found on a unique issue of his brother Sikandar Shah, and it is presumed that this coin was also minted at Muhammadabad, a most important mint of the Sultans of Gujarat.

The size of the coin is ·8 inches and it weighs 146 grs.

1. Treasure Trove Coins found by the Archæological Department, Baroda State, at Amla.

A COPPER COIN OF QĀDIR SHĀH OF MALWA ?

By C. R. Singhal, Bombay.

The coin which I am going to describe below, was purchsed from a coin dealer along with other coins in the year 1938. Its legend on the obverse is quite simple and well known to the students of Gujarat numismatics, but the lengend on the reverse of this coin which partially gives the name of the ruler who was the son of 'Adil Shah, has puzzled me for a very long time. The die has unfortunately struck the flan at such a point that the name of the king has to be traced from the three upper strokes left on the surface of the coin. After careful thinking, the name of the king has been read as Qādir Shāh or Bahadur Shāh ; the first stroke of 'alif' being quite clear. Now the question arises as to who this Bahadur Shāh or Qādir Shāh, son of 'Adil Shāh can be. The legend on the obverse is clearly a copy of the legend found on the coins struck by Mahmud Shah III of Gujarat (vide No. 607, *Catalogue of Gujarat coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*) and if we go by this clue, which I think we should, then this coin ought to be assigned either to some one who succeeded Mahmud Shah III, or to some other ruler who may be connected with this Sultan in one way or the other. We know that Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was the predecessor and not the successor of Mahmud Shah III, and as there was no other ruler of this name after the death of Mahmud Shah III, we can therefore, safely say that this coin does not belong to the dynasty of the Gujarat Sultanat.

As regards Qādir Shāh, we know from history that he was formerly an officer of the Malwa kings, had retained the fief of Sarangpur and had received the title of Qādir Khan. He having established himself at Mandu, had also assumed the title of Qādir Shāh. With the help of the Wazir of Mahmud Shāh III, he was granted the privilege of the Royal Umbrella and the right of striking coins.

From this evidence, it appears that this coin was issued by Qādir Shāh of Malwa, but the name of 'Adil Shāh as being his father's name is not to be traced in any historical book. This coin is, therefore, tentatively assigned to Qādir Shāh of Mālwā till a very clear specimen is discovered, or till his parentage is established at some later stage.

Obv.

Rev.

The legend on the above coin reads as under :—

Obverse	ناصر	Reverse	سلطان
	ب		عادل شاه
	المنان		بن
	لوثق با		شاه (قا)در

Weight, 132 grs.

The full legend will read like this :

Obverse الواثق بالله السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

Reverse قادرشاه بن عادل شاه سلطان

NEW COINS OF SITA

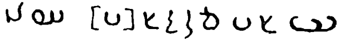
NOTE BY R. B. K. N. DIKSHIT, M. A., POONA.

In the year 1941 four gold coins were found in the grave-yard of Warburton, Tahsil Nankana Sahib, District Sheikh-pura, and were sent to me for examination. The coins belong to the well-known type of the later Kushāna (Kidāra) king Sita. On examining them carefully it was seen that there were certain marginal letters both on the obverse and the reverse of the coins. Other coins already in the collection of the Central Museum, Lahore, were examined, and it was found that on at least two of them there were traces of Pahlavi letters in a fragmentary state of preservation. To enable the legend on the coins to be deciphered more satisfactorily they were maginified. The upper half of Pl. III shows these coins enlarged to twice their original size; its lower half shows the obverse of No. 1 enlarged still more considerably in order to render its Pahlavi (?) legend quite distinct and legible. Certain Parsi scholars in Bombay were consulted and the opinion of two of them, obtained through the good offices of Mr. R. G. Gyani, is enclosed herewith. Whereas Dr. J. M. Unvala is unable to say anything definitely about the meaning of the letters, the late Mr. F. D. J, Paruck is definite about the mention of the queen Sitā. This, indeed, would be very interesting, if correct, as the figure of the sovereign does not show anything particularly associated with a queen, the dress being one on the late Kushāna coins. We have the instance of a queen of the Kākatīya dynasty designating herself by the male title Mahārāja, but there is no instance in Indian numismatics of a similar phenomenon as met with in preasent case.

THE LATE MR. PARUCK'S OPINION

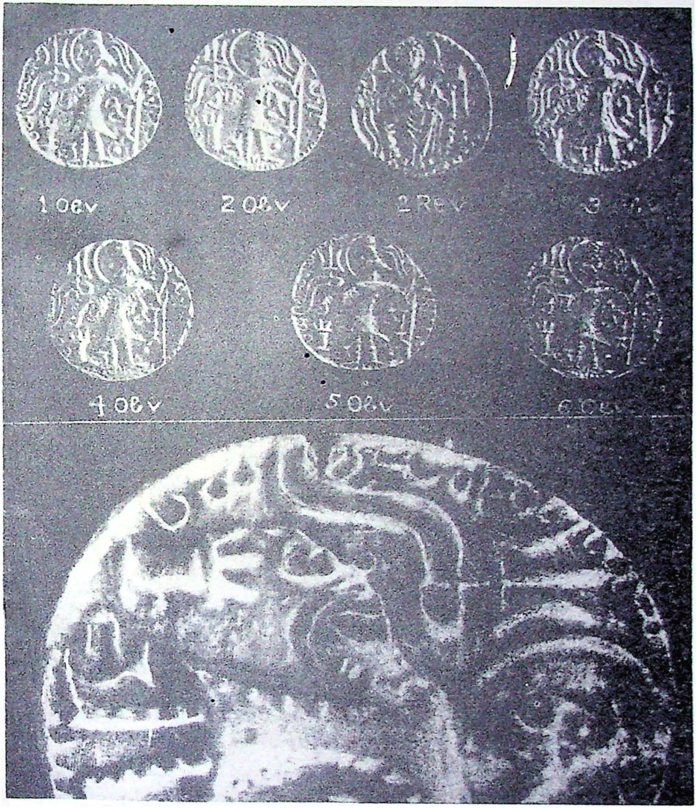
On Pl. III, 1 we have :—

Obverse, inscr., in Pahlavi, beginning on left downwards,



.........SĪTĀ MLKT(Ā) AFZŪ (.........Sītā malkat(ā) afzū), 'Long live Queen.........Sītā.'

The first word above the trident appears to consist of four letters, but their upper portion is unfortunately off the flan. Even the coins on Pl. III, 3, 6, do not help us to determine the readings of this word. In context with the whole inscription, it seems to me that the first word is either the name of the clan to which Queen Sītā belonged or her honorific epithet.


1 Obv
2 Obv
2 Rev
4 Obv
5 Obv

The name in Brāhmī seems to me to be Sita in the masculine gender and this reading is supported by the male portrait on the coins. Under these circumstances it would be advisable to submit enlarged photographs of the Coin No. I and also of the *I. M. C.* XIV, 6 & 7 to a specialist in Brāhmī palæography to determine whether the name in Brāhmī characters is spelt in the masculine as Sita or in the feminine as Sitā, as found in the Pahlavi inscription.[1]

The Pahlavi epigraphy on the coins resembles that in the Sasanian coins of the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era. It will be necessary to see if this statement is confirmed by the forms of the Brāhmī characters appearing on these coins.[2]

The use of the Pahlavi language and script denotes Persaian influence. Is it due to the Sasanian suzerainty over the kingdom where these coins were struck ?

DR. J. M. UNVALA'S OPINION.

I submit the following observations after a careful study of these legends :—

1. (i) The final two letters, or groups of letters on the coins in **Pl. III, 1** and **5** are whereas on the coins in **Pl. III, 2, 4, 6,** they are ; on the coin in **Pl. III, 3,** we have . Now, if we suppose the script to be Pahlavi, these groups of letters may have the value: *ipt* or *atapt*; the groups and we have on the coins of Napki, which name I have read *Nesaki* or *Necaki* in my paper read before the XIth All-India Oriental Conference.

(ii) On **Pl. III, 1** the rest of the legend is cut off near the border; only can be seen immediately on the right of the above groups of letters ; it may be read *p* or *f*.

1. There can be no shadow of a doubt as to the reading of the Brāhmī legend. The five coins on Pl III show clearly that it is *Sita* and not *Sitā*. *Chief editor.*

2. The palæography of the Brāhmī legend also indicates the 4th century A.D. as the time of the coins. *Chief Editor.*

(iii) The rest of the legends on other coins are so mutilated near the border of the coins, that it is impossible to attempt their readings.

II. M. de Morgan publishes in *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*, fasc. III, p. 474, fig. 623, a coin of Sita, which he attributes to one of the Kushāna princes of the Punjab, who ruled in the course of the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D. On the coin published by him there is no marginal legend.

Now as the type of the coins in question is the same as that of the coins of Vāsudeva II and of Kanishka, which have marginal legends in Greek-Kushāna characters, viz. PΔONΔNO PΔO BΔZOΔHO KOPΔNO (*ibid.* p. 473, fig. 621) which is greatly mutilated, and PΔONANO PΔO KΔNHPKO KOPΔNO (*ibid.* p. 475, fig. 623),[1] it seems to be highly probable that there are Legends in Greek-Kushāna characters also on our coins,

beginning with for PΔO............

1. This coin is wrongly attributed to Vaoarma, which is a printing mistake, the figure being misplaced.

THE ḌHABBUKA COIN.

By P. K. Gode, M.A.

Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

30 1982

Sometime ago a friend requested me to give him the history of the *Ḍhabbū* Coin. I told him that I was not a student of numismatics and hence was unable to give him any authoritative reply to all his queries, which were as follows :—

(1) Antiquity of the term *Ḍhabbū*.

(2) Etymology of the term *Ḍhabbū*.

(3) Provinces of India in which the Coin *Ḍhabbū* was current at different periods of history.

(4) Usages of the term *Ḍhabbū* in Indian and foreign languages with chronology, if possible.

(5) The time when the coin was abolished or fell into disuse.

(6) The exact value of the coin *Ḍhabbū* and its existing specimens in the present Coin-Collections in different parts of India.

(7) Was the coin *Dhabbū* a standard or unstamped coin ?

(8) The metal of the coin *Dhabbū* as also its approximate weight.

This list of questions was quite bewildering to me, but I promised my friend to jot down whatever information can be gathered on these points from literary and other sources. The present note contains only a few jottings, which may help us to clarify the present uncertain antiquity of the *Dhabbū* Coin.

In the *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell (London, 1903) we find the following information about the *Ḍhabbū* Coin on p. 327-328 :—

"Dub, S. Telugu *dabbu*, Tam. *idappu* ; a small Copper Coin, the same as the *doody* (See Cash) value 20 *Cash* ; whence it comes to stand for money in general. It is curious that we have also an English provincial word, "*Dubs* = money, E. Sussex" (*Holloway, Gen. Dict. of Provincialisms*, Lewes, 1838). And the slang 'to dub up' for to pay up, is common (See *Slang Dict.*)"

The *Hobson-Jobson* then records the following *dated* usages from English and French sources :—

"*A. D. 1781*—"*dubs*" (*Lives of the Lindsays*, iii)[1]
"*c. 1790*"—"*dabous*" (*Haafner*, ii, 75)

In view of the absence[2] of any references from Indian sources in the above article I begau to search for them but was much disappointed at the want of such references in our books and lexicons.

The Marathi lexicon called the *Śabdakośa* (1935) by Date and Karve gives the following information about *Dhabbū* :—

> "ढबू(ब्बू) ढब्बूक—a copper coin (=2 pice); a pice worth two *Śivarāī* coins; half an anna. [Telugu *Dhab*; Kanadi, *dabbū*; Hindi, *dhabū*]. Idioms ;—(1) देखण्यांत ढब्बू चालण्यांत शिवराई and (2) आयत गबू आणि पैसा ढबू"

No usage with chronology has been recorded by this lexicon and consequently the above information does not help us to trace the antiquity of this copper coin. Recently I inquired of some local students of numismatics to give me the history of this coin but they were unable to satisfy me. Consequently I wrote to my friends Mahāmahopādhyāya Principal V. V. Mirashi and Dr. A. S. Altekar who have made a close study of numismatics. The former of these friends was unable to give me any evidence about the history of the *Ḍhabbū* coin; the observations of the latter are appended at the end of this paper. I am herewith giving such information as I am able to gather from various sources. This evidence is as follows :—

(1) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Ancient Indian Numismatics* (Calcutta, 1921, p. 70) makes the following remarks about *Ḍhābuās* :—

> "Not many years ago, as you will recollect, the *Ḍhābuās*, which were unstamped copper coins circulated freely in Bengal along with stamped coinage of various denominations"

I believe the *Ḍhābuās* referred to by Dr. Bhandarkar in the above extract are identical with *Ḍhabbūs*. It would appear from Dr. Bhandarkar's statement that the *Ḍhabbū* coin was

1. Cf. *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* p. 569—"*Dub—East Ind*, 1781 [Telugu *dabba*] A small copper coin ;=20 cash"

2. In the article on *Eastern Coins and Medals* by Rapson in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. III (1910) pp. 705—710, I have failed to notice any reference to this coin. There is an article on Numismatics (*nāṇakaśāstra*) in the *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakośa* by S. V. Ketkar, Poona, 1925, Vol. XVI (Pages न १६२-१९०). It refers to the शिवराई coins but not to the ढब्बू coins. We are told that the शिवराई pice was current in the Peshwa period from Narmadā to Tungabhadrā. It was minted in the Konkon and the Karnatak.

an unstamped copper coin and that it was current in Bengal late in the 19th century.

(2) From the references to the *Ḍhabbū* coin of *A.D. 1781* and *1790* recorded in the *Hobson-Jobson* let us go backward and see if we can trace the existence of the *Ḍhabbū* coin in the first quarter of the 18th century.

In a Sanskrit Conversational Grammar called the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*[1] composed by Dhuṇḍirāja (Son of Srīraṅgabhaṭṭa) who appears to have been a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin of the Mādhva Sect residing in Benares between A. D. 1690 and 1720, I find the following references to the *Ḍhabuka* (same as *Ḍhabbū*) coin :—*MS No. 21 of 1919-24* (Govt. MSS Library, B. O. R. Institute, Poona) folio 2—

—"उपसाममीमानेहि । तर्हि मुद्रिका ढबुका देया"

—"एते विभज्य ढबुकान् कृत्वा etc."

The above references to *Ḍhabukas* are found in the work in connection with the purchase of some articles in the Benares market. It is clear therefore, that the coin was current at Benares *c.* A.D. 1700.

(3) Let us see now if the *Ḍhabbūs* or *Ḍhabukas* or *Dhabbukas* were current at Benares about A. D. 1600. i. e. 100 years earlier than Dhuṇḍirāja's reference to them. Fortunately I have discovered reliable evidence to prove this point also.

According to Prof. P. V. Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra* Vol. I, p. 439) Saṁkarabhaṭṭa, the father of Nīlakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa and uncle of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (A. D. 1612), composed his *Dvaitanirṇaya* or *Dharmadvaitanirṇaya* some time after A. D. 1590. As Nīlakaṇṭha flourished between A. D. 1610 and 1645, his father Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa flourished, say between A. D. 1575 and 1630. In the published edition of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa's *Dharmadvaitanirṇaya* [by Principal J. R. Gharpure (1943)] I find the following references to the *Dhabbuka* Coin :—

Page 138—Section on द्रव्यमानद्वैतनिर्णय

"आर्यावर्ते तु तादृशपणपर्यायमाषाणां विंशतिः दश ढब्बुका कार्षापण इत्युक्तम्"

अत्राह नारदः :—

"कार्षापणो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि रौप्यः प्रवर्तते ।
पणैर्निबद्धः पूर्वस्यां षोडशैव पणाः स तु ॥"

षोडशपणा अष्टौ ढब्बुकाः कार्षापणः पूर्वस्यां इत्यर्थः । तावता कर्ष्यं रूप्यं दक्षिणस्यां कार्षापण इत्यर्थः । ततश्च कात्यायननारदवाक्याभ्यां देश-

1. I have proved in my paper contributed to the Madras Session of the Indian History Congress that this work refers to the seige of Gingee by Zulfiqārkhān (A.D. 1690—1698) as an event of fresh occurence and consequently it was composed towards *c.* A.D. 1700.

भेदेन दशाष्टौ वा ढब्बुकाः कार्षापण इत्युक्तम् । तेन ततश्चतुर्गुणां चत्वारिंशद्वा ढब्बुका धान्यकः । धान्यकद्वादशकलभ्यं हिरण्यं सुवर्णः ।"

Page 139—ज्यौतिषलीलावत्यां तु --

"वराटकानां दशकद्वयं यत् सा काकिणी, ताश्च पणश्चतस्रः । ते षोडश द्रम्म इहावगम्यो द्रम्मैस्तथा षोडशभिश्च निष्कः ।" इति । अत्र पणषोडशकम् अष्टौ ढब्बुका द्रम्मः । तत्षोडशकम् अष्टाविंशत्युत्तरशतं ढबूका निष्क इत्युक्तम् ।

—"पूर्वमुक्ताभ्यां कात्यायननारदवाक्याभ्यां देशभेदेन दशाष्टौ वा ढब्बुकाः कार्षापण इत्युक्तेः" ।"

—"गोमात्रमूल्यं द्वात्रिंशत्पणास्तदधिकायास्तु धेन्वाः ततो न्यूना दशकार्षापणा मूल्यमित्यनुपपन्नम् । तस्मादिह कात्यायननारदोक्तदशढब्बूकात्मक एव कार्षापणो विवक्षित इति ।"

The foregoing references to ढबूक or ढब्बुक made by a Benares author of Akbar's time are sufficient to warrant an inference that this copper coin called ढबूक or ढब्बुक was known and current at Benares at about A.D. 1600. In the above extracts the author explains the value of other coins like कार्षापण etc. in terms of the ढब्बुक coin. The expression ' कात्यायननारदोक्तदशढबूकात्मक एव कार्षापणः" which means "a *Kārṣāpaṇa* coin is equal to *ten Ḍhabbukas* as stated by Kātyāyana and Nārada" is significant in our inquiry. We have to verify if the present texts of the कात्यायन-स्मृति and नारद-स्मृति contain the above equation of 10 *dhabbukas* with 1 *Kārshāpaṇa*. This verification must be left for a future occasion in case I succeed in tracing references to the *Ḍhabbuka* Coin in sources earlier than A.D. 1550.[1] For the present I conclude this short note by recording the following chronology of my references discussed in this paper :—

Chronology	References
*C.*A.D. 1575-1630	Saṅkarabhaṭṭa refers to *Ḍhabuka* or *Ḍhabbuka* in his *Dharmadvaitanirṇaya* composed at Benares.
C.A.D. 1700	Dhuṇḍirāja of Benares refers to *Ḍhabuka* in his *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*.
A.D. 1781	"*Dubs*" = *Dhabbūs* (*Hobson-Jobson*).
A.D. 1790	"*Dabous*" (in a French source) *Hobson-Jobson*.
A.D.C. 1850	"*Dhābuās*" (unstamped copper Coins) current in Bengal according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

1. These Smritis, as preserved at present, do not contain this equation. *Chief Editor.*

If the term *Dhabbu* has a South Indian origin we may be able to trace its usages in Telugu and Tamil sources earlier than A.D. 1600 when it appears to have been current in Northern India. I await more light on the history of this coin in detail from expert numismatists and other scholars. I have only put together whatever information I could gather from Sanskrit sources and correlated it with information in other sources, so as to give the readers an antiquity of at least 450 years for the Dhabbū Coin.

THE CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE

Subsequent to the receipt of Mr. Gode's paper, I made further investigations into the question of the *Ḍhabbu* coin and I am embodying my results in this short note.

As regards the questions raised at the beginning of the paper, I may observe that the term *Ḍhabbu* is in use in several provinces. Besides Mahārāshṭra and Bengal, the term is in extensive use in the U.P. and Bihar also. In these provinces the term denotes uncoined and unstamped copper pieces that were in extensive use till about the beginning of the present century. It was a private copper currency having no stamp, no bust and no inscription. Its shape was not uniform and its weight was usually one *tola*, that is, double the weight of the pice of the British government. As it was most extensively in use in the Gorakhpur division, it was also called as Gorakhpuri *paisa* in U.P. The cabinet of the Benares Hindu University has got two of its specimens. The *Dhabbu paisa* being a private currency, was often known after the firm that used to manufacture it. In Balia district it was known as *Maddhu-shāhi paisa*, probably after the name of the banker who once upon a time supplied them to the market. The coin was always a copper piece.

The above information answers most of the questions enumerated at the beginning of Mr. Gode's paper. I now pass on to the antiquity and etymology of the term.

The extracts quoted by Mr. Gode undoubtedly take back the antiquity of the coin to *c*. 1550 A.D. The passages quoted in them would suggest that the term would go back to the time of Nārada and Kātyāyana; but it is doubtful whether the term was really known to these writers. It is interesting to note that the verses quoted from these writers do not contain any references to *Ḍhabbuka*; it is only the prose explanations added to their texts by Saṅkara-

bhaṭṭa that introduce the name of the coin. In the *Kātyāyana-smṛiti*, as reconstructed by M. M. P. V. Kane, there is no reference to *Ḍhabbukas*; see vv. 492-4. The same is the case with *Nārada-smṛiti* as reconstructed by Jolly. I am quoting below the relevant verses from the latter work :—

कार्षापणो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि रौप्यः प्रवर्तते ।
पणैर्निबद्धः पूर्वस्यां विंशतिस्तु पणस्य तु ॥५७॥
माषो विंशतिभागस्तु पणस्य परिकीर्तितः ।
पणस्तु षोडशो भागो ज्ञेयः कार्षापणस्य तु ॥५८॥
काकिणी तु चतुर्भागो माषस्य च पणस्य च ।
पञ्चनद्याः प्रदेशे तु संज्ञेयं व्यावहारिकी ॥
कार्षापणप्रमाणं तु निबद्धमिह वै तया ॥५९॥
कार्षापणोऽण्डिका ज्ञेया ताश्चतस्रस्तु धानकाः ।
ता द्वादशसुवर्णस्तु दीनाराख्यः स एव तु ॥६०॥

It is difficult to say whether any unpublished *Nibandhas* like the *Kalpataru* composed in U. P. may be containing any quotations from Nārada or Kātyāyana, referring to the *Ḍhabbuka* coin in this connection. It seems unlikely that the term was in use in the Hindu period.

I think it very probable that the term *Ḍhabbu* is *apabhraṁśa* (corruption) of the term *vṛiddha*, 'large' in Sanskrit. By normal process, this word has become *baḍā* 'big' in several languages. The earliest stage of corruption of this word must however have been *baḍḍhā*, which by metathesis will give us the form *ḍhabbā*. This later form was later changed into *Ḍhabbu* and specialised to denote larger copper coins.

This inference is supported by the information supplied by the authorities quoted by Mr. Gode. They say that a *Paṇa* (which from *c*. 500 to 1300 A.D. was a silver piece weighing about 60 grains) was equal to either 20 or 16 *Kārshāpāṇa* (copper) pieces or 10 or 8 *Ḍhabbuka* (copper) pieces. This suggests that a *Ḍhabbuka* was equal to 2 copper *Kārshāpaṇas*, and must therefore have been double its size and weight.

During the period 500 to 1300 A. D. the usual weight of the copper *Kārhāpaṇa* was about 70 to 80 grains ; it was thus slightly lighter than the modern pice. The statement of Nārada that 16 of them were usually equal to a silvere *Paṇa* would recall to our mind the present ratio of 16 pice being equal to a four anna silver piece, which weighs 48 grains. This ratio prevailed in Kashmir also during the period, *c*. 800 to 1300 A. D., where the normal weight of the cooper coin was about 80 grains.[1]

1. Cunningtion, *coins of Modioval India*, p. 32.

The normal weight of the copper issues of the Sultans of Delhi from 1200 to 1500 A.D. was also in the vicinity of 70 grains. The Moghuls under Baber and Humayun began to issue larger copper pieces weighing about 180 grains. It seems not unlikely that these larger copper pieces began to be popularly known as *Ḍhabbus*, as they were nearly twice as heavy as the earlier coppor coin. During the 18th century in Marwar, larger copper pieces, equal in value to half an anna, were known as Dhabbū Shāhi on account of their heavy weight.[1]

We cannot however altogether exclude the possibility of the term being in use in the earlier period also. While the weight standard of the copper currency issued during 500 to 1200 A.D. was about 70 to 80 grains, there were also current during all these centuries the Kushāna copper coins, issued during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The copper currency was so extensively issued by the Kushānas, that their coins were very numerous in the Punjab as late as the middle of the 19th century. The Kushānas issued copper pieces of two weight standards; their lighter pieces, which were probably the *Paṇas*, weighed about 70 grains and the heavier ones about 270 grains, the ratio between the two being about 1 : 4. It is quite possible that the bigger pieces may have been called first as *baḍḍhās* and then as *ḍhabbās* or *ḍhabbūs*. There is however no evidence in the earlier literature or inscriptions of the of use such a term as *Ḍhabbuka* to denote these larger copper pieces. If the term was in use in the days of Nārada and Kātyāyana and denoted the larger copper coin of the Kushānas, the ratio between the copper *Ḍhabbukas* and silver *Paṇas* would have been, not 8 or 10 to 1, as said to have been stated by Nārada and Kātyāyana, but 4 or 5 to 1.

How the term *Ḍhabbu* came to denote private unstamped currency can only be inferred. In the 19th century the British government extensively issued only the copper pice ; the double pice was not so popular with the mint authorities. People were however accustomed to a heavier copper currency during the preceding Moghul rule and in several provinces private agencies began to supply their needs by issuing unstamped copper pieces weighing double the government pice. It seems that the government tolerated this procedure as it did not incur any financial loss from it. Later on the *Ḍhabbus* were officially banned, though they still remained current for some time.

1. Webb: *The Currencies of the Hindu States in Rajputana*, pp. 47-8.

MISCELLANEA

. BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES.

NEW ADDITIONS TO THE MUSEUM COIN CABINETS.

In a letter written to me, Mr. D. D. Ghoshal of Howrah emphasises upon the great necessity of publishing a full account of the coins that are being annually added to the coin cabinets of the different museum in India and abroad. We have no doubt got the Catalogues of the Coins in the different important museums of India; but most of them were published many years ago and the public has hardly any handy means of ascertaining what new coins were added to the Museums since the publication of their catalogues, and which of them are new or unique. The authorities of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, have no doubt taken steps to publish the additions made to their coin collection; but the authorities of other Museums have not followed their example. In the absence of accurate information on this point, private collectors find it very difficult to choose proper coins for their collections, and scholars also do not know what new discoveries have been made.

I fully endorse the above suggestion of Mr. Ghoshal. The authorities of the different museums in India should send regularly a list of their new additions to the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* for publication in its pages. Our *Journal* is the only authoritative forum for the discussion of numismatic matters in this country, and if accounts are regularly published in it of the new additions made to the different museums, all persons interested in the subject will be kept well informed as to the most recent discoveries and additions. The *Journal* will also take steps to publish the facsimiles and photographs of rare and unique coins.

I trust that the authorities of the different museums in India and abroad will kindly note this suggestion and favour this *Journal* the necessary information on this point. If a large number of coins have been added to any Museum since the publication of its catalogue, they can be all included in a note which will be published as a separate paper. It is true that the annual reports of most of the museums contain some information on this point; but these reports do not reach the hands of all those who are interested in Numismatics. The best way of securing the widest publicity to the periodical

new additions is to publish their account regularly in the pages of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*

PRATĀPA TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I.

In an interesting paper contributed to Lt. Col. S. Sinha Commemoration Volume, Mr. S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S., offers a new suggestion about the above coin type. He draws pointed attention to the similarity between this type and the gold coin of Huvishka (published in Gardner, *B.M.C.*, Pl. XXVIII, 24) having on its reverse the three figures of Komaro, Bizago and Skando, (Kumāra, Vishākha and Skanda,) who were regarded as separate deities in the Kushāna age. God Kumāra, the generalissimo of the gods, was also the patron deity of Kumāragupta I, as is suggested by some of his coins. Mr. Sohoni holds that it was but natural that on some coins of Kumāragupta I, Kumāra should have appeared on the overse. As Skanda and Vishākha were no longer regarded as separate deities in the Gupta age, their place was filled by the representations of the two wives of Kumāra, Shashthī and Devasenā.

It is easy to argue that the central fugure does not look like a warrior, as is the case with the representation of Kārtikeya on the Yaudheya coins. But it may be pointed out that its pose is nearly the same as that of this deity on the coin of Huvishka referred to above. The pose of the two females by the side of Kārtikeya is however not similar to that of Hindu wives by the side of their husbands. To me the central figure appears to be that of a *Yogi*. Hoernle had thought that it was probably the Buddha worshipped by two women. I am inclined to think that *prima facie* it look like the Buddha being tempted by the two daughters of Māra.

There is however no reason why this scene should have appeared on a coin of Kumāragupta I, who is not known to have been a Buddhist. Mr. Sohoni's interesting theory is worth considering, especially in view of the prominence known to have been given to Kārtikeya on the coins of Kumāragupta I. The reverse legend Pratāpa may also contain a veiled reference to the deity on the obverse which is an embodiment of valour.

Till more evidence becomes available, it must be admitted that a completely satisfactory solution of this type does not seem to be possible.

MINT-MARKS

ON

SĀSĀNIAN AND ARAB-SĀSĀNIAN COINS

BY

THE LATE MR. FURDOONJEE D. J. PARUCK,

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THE CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE

The present paper of the Late Mr. Paruck was sent to me for publication in the *Journal* by the beginning of December 1943. The author, who was then lying seriously ill, was very anxious to see the article in print as early as possible, and as the December 1943 number was already in print, I had intended to publish the paper in the June Number of 1944. The blocks were all ready and the matter was about to be sent to the press when the Paper Economy Ordinance was promulgated by the Government of India, which curtailed the size of our *Journal* from 100 pages to 30. This seriously upset our plan and no printing could be undertaken for several months till the outcome of our request to Government to give us more quota of paper was known. This point could be settled only by the beginning of March 1945. In the meanwhile to the great regret of the numismatic world, Mr. Paruck expired in May 1944. It is a matter of profound regret to me that owing to the unprecedented situation created by the Paper Economy Ordinance, I could not publish Mr. Paruck's paper in his life time.

Mr. Paruck's paper was written during his last illness, and its proofs had not the advantage of being finally corrected by the author. It is therefore just possible that it may not be coming before the scholars in its best form and I trust that they would not be forgetting this circumstance while reading and judging it.

Mr. Paruck was a life-long student of Sāsānian numismatics, and his views about the interpretation of the mint-marks on the Sāsānian and Arab-Sāsānian coins deserve careful consideration. The question however is frought with difficulties ; owing to the polyphany of the Pahlvi characters and the lack of uniformity in their transcription there prevails a great divergence of views about their proper interpretation. Mr. Paruck,

for instance, is unable to agree with Mr. Walker in his conception of the letter R ; what the latter takes as ART, DAR, DR, HURA, MR, TART, ZR and RD is taken as AUT, DAP, DP, HUBS, MB, TAUT, YZ and ZD respectively by the former.

Opinion can naturally differ on this and some other points, and it is needless to add that I shall be glad to publish observations, comments and criticism on the present paper by the students of the subject.

I am indebted to Dr. J. M. Unwala for kindly going through the paper and making some valuable observations. Some of these are included in the foot-notes having the initials J. M. U. after them.

INTRODUCTION

In my book entitled 'Sāsānian Coins', a chapter is devoted to the mint-marks on the coins from which alone the mints issuing the coins can be detected. Unfortunately these are in a large number of cases elusive and baffling. Since that publication I had cherished the hope of being able at some future period, to remedy the defects and supply the deficiencies of my first attempt. With this end in view, I began to collect new materials and to re-examine the inferences and conclusions arrived at by my predecessors in the same line. Owing to the inadequate existing sources of our knowledge of the subject, it was not possible for me to make a further advance beyond the half developed results of the intricate inquiry. Herzfeld has recently published (*'Transactions of the International Congress'*, London, 1938, pp. 416-26) some pieces of fine clay stamped with seal impressions of the Sāsānian period. It is reported that he has made other similar finds which he intends to publish in the near future. What is of chief interest to us just now is the information regarding the impressions of the official seals bearing around in full the names of important towns. On some of these impressions the name of the town is also written in the centre in an abbreviated form. These provide us with definite information to identify certain mint-marks on the coins. For matured solutions, we must await the discovery of further numismatic or archæological data which would throw fresh light on the question. Taking everything into considerarion, it will be noticed that while the evidence is certainly incomplete, it is sufficient to form an opinion on the nature and importance of different mints. For the present I have only to place before those who would interest themselves in the subject, a certain amount of unpublished material I had collected for my use. I wish to communicate all I have learnt to those who may use it better and unravel the knotty problems of which many are in a state of uncertainty, and the rest quite beyond solution.

It is hardly necessary to state that the legends on Sāsānian coins and on the Arab copies of the Sāsānian drachm are in the Pārsīk language and script, which is written from right to left. The name Pārsīk is advisedly used here instead of the conventional wrong term Pahlavī, that is Parthian. A mint-mark consists of one or more initial letters of the mint-name. Most of these names are usually in abbreviated forms, but some of them are inscribed in full. As the Arabs had maintained several of the Sāsānian mints, the same system of marking the mints was adopted by the Umaiyad governors of Persian provinces on their drachms. Unfortunately the Pārsīk mint-marks on Sāsānian drachms and on Umaiyad drachms of the Sāsānian type cannot all be equated with the corresponding Arabic mint-names in full on Umaiyad dirhams of the Reformed Currency. It is extremely difficult to make out the whole name from these initial letters and to determine correctly the name of the mint-town among the various places whose names commence with the self-same letters; so no useful purpose will be served by adopting the mere mechanical process of ascribing to each mint-mark parallel initial letters from the geographical lists of old Persian towns. The mint-marks on the coins of Yazdagard III (A. C. 632-651) present a special importance as they show in a precise manner the part of the empire from which the coins were issued. He was in the distant eastern province of his empire during the last two years of his reign, which fact compels us to locate the places indicated by the mint-marks appearing on his coins dated the years 19 and 20 in the vicinity of Herāt, Merv or Balkh.

Owing to the peculiarities of the Pārsīk script the letters of the mint-marks varied in form in the course of time and likewise in the different provinces of the Sāsānian Empire. These peculiarities sometimes admit of different interpretations even when the mark is correctly inscribed. A mark appearing continuously for several years on coins, gives us an opportunity to note the gradual modification which each of the component letters undergoes, and thus we are guided to fix its correct phonetic value on the data furnished by the legends on coins. It is, therefore, important to find out what phonetic value each of the component letters had during the early period of the appearance of the mark. The possibility of confusion between certain similar letters must be guarded against : between A and S or Š, between the final B and the final I, between the initial G and the initial *Z*, between the final I and the final U, between the initial I and the initial *Z*, between N and V, and finally between A and H, particularly on Arab-Sāsānian drachms. The letter B of the marks AB, MB, and NB is sometimes inscribed on a smaller scale than usual, whereby it is easily confused with I.

Sometimes the letter B of the same marks is found with the head bent towards its tail; this should not create any confusion. The letter I of the marks AI, AIT and GI is sometimes so badly inscribed that it is difficult to distinguish it from the letter U. For this reason they may, respectively, be read as AU, AUT and GO. For other forms of the final I, compare the marks AI, MI and NI.

There is always the possibility to consider a mark as an abbreviation of another, both having the self-same inital letters; for instance the marks AIR, AIRA and AIRAN. The only available test is to find out whether or not such marks appear on the same dates. It is important to note that no mint would issue simultaneously coins bearing the mint-name in full and in abbreviated forms, or even different marks. Not only is the mark AIR not an abbreviation of AIRA, but both of them are also not those of AIRAN, because these three appear on the same dates for several years on coins. There are other groups of mint-marks, such as APR, APRŠ and APRŠT :, and DA, DAR and DARAPKR, but in these cases APR and APRŠ are the abbreviations of APRŠT :, and DA and DAR are those of DARAPKR. In each of these groups the abbreviations and the full name are not to be found on coins of the same dates. In the same way BI, BIA and BIAB, KA, KAR (no. 253) and KARH, and GN, GNJ̌ and GNJ̌KR may be tentatively formed into three separate groups. In addition to these, there are other groups, each formed of two marks, such as HR and HRA, KR KRMAN, MR and MRV, and probably RS and RSIN, and YŠ and YŠT.

There is an indication of the existence of sub-mints in Dārābgard, one of the five great districts of the province of Pārs, and in the province of Kirmān, during the Umaiyad period. One or more letters are found inscribed above the mint-mark DA, and two or more additional letters appear in continuation of the name KRMAN. These extra letters probably indicate the sub-mints.

There certainly existed a number of mints during the early period of the Sāsānians, but the system of inscribing the mint-name does not seem to have been adopted at that period. However, one or more isolated Pārsīk letters appear rarely on the obverse or reverse of the coins of the early kings which may be regarded as mint-marks. A drachm of Bahrām I (A.C. 273-276), in my Cabinet, bears on the reverse above the fire on the altar the name SKSTN (Saḳastān). This is the earliest instance known to me of the mint-name inscribed in full on Sāsānian coins (Paruck, '*Revue Numismatique*', 1936, Pl. I. 4.). One

or more isolated letters appear rarely below the altar on the reverse of the coins of Hormazd II (A.C. 303-310). Several coins of Shāpūr II (A. C. 310-379) bear on the obverse to the left above the crown two or three isolated letters, and on the reverse of several others of the same king one or more letters appear below the altar. These isolated letters appear to be mint-marks. A large number of similar coins of the early kings are probably preserved in the State Museums of Europe, but until the catalogues of these important collections are published it is not possible to classify and interpret the early Sāsānian mint-marks.

The system of inscribing the mint-mark on coins was partially introduced during the reign of Bahrām IV (A.C. 388-399). On his coins and on those of his immediate successors Yazdagard I (A.C. 399-420) and Bahrām V (A.C. 420-438), the mark was inscribed on the reverse to the right or the left or partly on either side of the fire on the altar, and during the reign of Yazdagard II (A.C. 438-457) it passed into the field to the right on the reverse. It appears that the system of inscribing the mark was gradually introduced in the mints, because we know of many coins of these four kings which do not bear any such mark. It was only from the reign of Fīrūz I (A. C. 459-484) that this system was adopted by almost all the mints. The constant increase in the number of mints noticed during the period from A. C. 388 to 484 is probably due to the gradual introduction of this system.

Although there were some exceptions (years 3 to 8) during the reign of Fīrūz I, the usage of marking the regnal years was not established till the reign of Jāmāsp in A.C. 497. Thereafter the regnal year was inscribed on the reverse in the field to the left, while the right side was reserved for the mint-mark. This usage became a definite convention which endured till the end of the dynasty and was maintained by the Arabs in their copies of the Sāsānian drachm.

The Arabs, after their conquest of Persia, adopted the administrative system of the Sāsānians, and naturally maintained several of the mints as formerly. Their first coinage in Persia was in imitation of the drachms of Yazdagard III (A.C. 632-651) bearing in Pārsīk the name of Yazdagard and dated the year 20. These pieces bear the mint-marks BN, MR, NAR and SD. A well known unique drachm bearing the mark *ZD* is dated the year 21 (Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1880, p, 160, no. 560). These dates are in terms of the regnal years of Yazdagard III. It is not difficult to distinguish these copies from the original, because the Arab pieces bear the legend *basmala* on the
10 obverse margin.

During his long reign, Khusrau II (A. C. 590-628) had issued an enormous quantity of drachms, which were current throughout the empire and acceptable to the Persians at the time of the advent of the Arabs. These circumstances had forced the conquerors to select his coinage as a standard type for many years. The reproduction of the portrait of Khusrau II and of the figure of the fire-altar with an attendant on either side was, however, contrary to the tenents of the religion of Muhammad and the Khalifs were reluctant to reproduce these figures on their coins, as the Arab and Byzantine historians testify. These coins bear in Pārsīk the name of the Persian monarch, the mint-mark and the date, with the addition of the legend *basmala* on the obverse margin. Almost the whole of this series of coins is dated in terms of the Yazdagard era, the initial year of striking being 21. This type of coins continued to appear almost every year until at least the year 50, while some isolated and erratic cases are also known until the year 63.

During this period the Umaiyad governors of Persian provinces issued simultaneously their own coinage. These were also of Khusrau II type, but they bore the names of the governors. Several Sāsānian mint-marks appear on these pieces; this fact implies that these mints were maintained by the Arabs as formerly. The dates on this series of coins are mostly in terms of the Hijra era, but occasional use was made of the Yazdagard and Tabaristān eras. Some of these mints issued two series of coins, one bearing the name of Khusrau, and the other that of the Umaiyad governor of the province.

The Sāsānian sovereigns, however, dated their coins in their regnal years and not in the terms of a fixed era. These regnal years were reckoned according to the calendar, that is not from the day of accession, but from the preceding New Year's day (see Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 403 f.).

Kobād II, son of Khusrau II, came to the throne on the 25th February 628 (= 8th Ādar) (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 357, foot-note 3), and died in September 628 (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 435), but his coins dated the year 2 are known. This fact shows that during his brief reign a New Year's day had occurred, and that in the fourth month of his reign he had entered on his second regnal year on the 17the June 628. His first year was thus reckoned from the 18th Juue 627.

As Queen Bōrān, daughter of Khusrau II, according to the majority of historians, reigned for sixteen or seventeen months only, it may appear a little surprising to find her coins dated the year 3. According to the calculations of Nöldeke (*op. cit.*, p. 435), she began to reign in the summer of the year 630 and

was deposed in the autumn of 631. The regnal years were reckoned according to the calendar, so a ruler ascending the throne in the last month of the year would enter on his second regnal year on the first day of the following month. In this case Queen Bōrān entered on her third year in the fourteenth month of her reign. As the Persian year, at that period, ran from June to June, her accession can be safely placed in May or the beginning of June 630. Thus—

May 630 to the 16th June 630, about one month of reign, first year ;
17th Juue 630 to 16th June 631, second year ;
and from 17th June 631 to October 631, about four months of reign, third year.

This makes in all about seventeen months of reign, with the two extreme dates of May 630 and October 631.

Khusrau V, son of Khusrau II, was on the throne for some months in the year 632. His coins bear the regnal year 2, which fact implies that during his brief reign a New Year's day had occurred and that was on the 16th June 632, the beginning of the Yazdagard era (see Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii). When Khusrau V was killed, Yazdagard III was put on the throne towards the end of the year 632 or in the beginning of 633 (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 435), and in accordance with the established custom, his first regnal year was reckoned from the preceding New Year's day, which fell on Tuesday 16th June 632, from which day begins the Yazdagard era.

In the year 20 of his reign (=12th June 651 to 10th June 652), Yazdagard III was murdered. Arab and Persian historians state the date of this event as the year A. H. 31 (=24th August 651 to 11th August 652), without indicating the month. Firdausī is very precise. He places the event during the night of the rōz Anerān (30), māh Khurdād (3), which corresponded to the night of the 9th/10th September 651, and to that of the 17th Muharram, that is in the beginning of the year A. H. 31.

After the death of Yazdagard III, the Ispahbads of Khurāsān, of the house of Qārēn, withdrew to Tabaristān, where they declared their independence, and apparently viewed themselves as the direct successors of Yazdagard III. They commemorated the event by the institution of the Tabaristān era, which had the date of the death of Yazdagard as its epoch, and in accordance with the established custom, the beginning of the new era was reckoned from the preceding New Year's day, that is Sunday 12th June 651.

Even the beginning of the Hijra era was reckoned after the Sāsānian custom. The flight of Muhammad from Mecca and his entry into Medina took place on Monday 8th Rabi I (=20th

September 622), whereas the era was reckoned from the preceding New Year's day, that is the 1st Muharram (= Friday 16th July 622). It was in the year A. H. 16 (= A. C. 637) that the 'era of the flight' was fixed for reckoning by 'Umar on the advice of 'Alī.

It a matter of great regret that the catalogues of the important collections of the Sāsānian coins in the State Museums of Europe have not yet been published. Under the circumstances I have to draw upon the sources of information available to me regarding the mint-marks and dates :—

1. Paruck, '*Sāsānian Coins*', 1924.
2. J. M. Unwala, '*Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Perse*', tome XXV, 1934, pp. 68-76, and one synoptic table.
3. Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, pp. 82-142.
4. Walker, '*A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins in the British Museum*', 1941. In the tollowing pages this catalogue is referred to in brief as '*B. M. C.*'
5. The Sāsānian Coins in the Ermitage Museum, Leningrad.
6. The Sāsānian Coins in the Paruck Collection, Bombay.

I am indebted to Mr. Vasmer for a list with details (weight, mint-marks in facsimile and dates) of the Sāsānian coins in the Ermitage Museum, and also for the casts of 850 selected specimens of the same series in the same Museum. He also interested himself on my behalf and supported my request to the Keeper of Coins in the Historical Museum, Moscow, for a similar list of the Sāsānian coins, but I regret to note that our efforts were fruitless. Mr. Vasmer estimates that the collection of the Sāsānian coins in the Historical Museum, Moscow, is larger than the combined collections of the same series of coins in the Paris Cabinet, the Berlin Museum and the Ermitage. Although I was not successful in obtaining similar lists from the British Museum, the Paris Cabinet and the Berlin Museum, still I am indebted to the Keepers of Coins in these museums for at least the lists of the number of coins of each of the Sāsānian monarchs preserved in these State Museums.

The following three comparative tables may be of use to those interested in the subject.

I

	Paruck Collection	Ermitage Museum	British Museum	Berlin Museum	Paris[1] Cabinet
No. of Sāsānian Coins	1691	2604	2166	1970	1152
No. of rulers represented	32	31	30	28	23

1. [There also exists another collection of 185 coins, which is described by Dr. J. M. Unwala in *Numismatique du Tabaristan*, Paris 1938. *Chief Editor*.]

II

	Ermitage Museum	Paruck Collection
No. of Sāsānian coins with mint-marks	2210	1480
No. of mint-marks represented	96	102
No. of Sāsānian coins with dates	1825	1322
No. of dates represented	160	157

III

Name of Ruler	Ermitage Museum			Paruck Collection		
	No. of coins	No. of mint marks	No. of dates	No. of coins	No. of mint marks	No. of dates
Bahrām IV	56	17		48	10	
Yazdagard I	47	16		21	9	
Bahrām V	72	14		27	9	
Yazdagard II	28	5		11	3	
Fīrūz I	149	26	5	37	18	2
Balāsh	24	11		4	4	
Kobād I (1st reign)	28	17		14	10	
Jāmāsp	26	11	3	4	3	2
Kobād I (2nd reign)	337	39	33	124	39	31
Khusrau I	482	50	48	383	49	47
Hormazd IV	183	39	12	195	45	13
Bahrām VI	6	6	2	3	3	1
Bistām	1	1	1	5	1	3
Khusrau II	627	45	39	517	48	38
Kobād II	2	2	1	1	1	1
Ardahsīr III	14	9	2	58	24	2
Bōrān	3	3	2	3	2	3
Hormazd V	7	4	2	4	2	1
Khusrau V	2	1	1	2	1	1
Yazdagard	16	6	9	20	6	12

A LIST OF THE MINT-MARKS

I have preferred the English alphabetical order as being more convenient in the classification of mint-marks, and have purposely avoided an arrangement according to the Pārsīk alphabet, in the belief that the majority of those using the treatise are likely to be more conversant with the former than with the latter.

1	A	33	ARM	63	BṠA
2	AB	34	AS	64	BU
3	AD	35	ASH	65	BUA
4	AH	36	ASP	66	BUBU
5	AHM	37	AST	67	BZ
6	AHR	38	AṠM	68	BZT
7	AHT	39	AT	68a	BZT
8	AI	40	ATRA	69	D
9	AIB	41	ATU	69a	D
10	AIM	42	AU	70	DA
11	AIR	43	AUH	70a	DAR
12	AIRA	44	AUM	70b	DARAPKR
13	AIRAN	45	AUT	70c	DA-P
14	AIS	46	B	70d	DA-ZAUM
15	AIT	47	BA	70e	DA-?
16	AJ̌	48	BB	71	DAD
17	AJ̌	49	BBA	72	DAP
18	AM	50	BHR	73	DH
19	AMA	51	BI	74	DIN
20	AMIU	51a	BIA	75	DINAN
21	AN	51b	BIAB	75a	DINAV
22	ANT	52	BIGN	76	DINAS
23	AP	53	BIST	76a	DINNAS
24	APAU	54	BIŠ	77	DINAT
25	APH	55	BJ̇	78	DP
26	APN	56	BJ̌RA	79	DR
27	APR	57	BJ̌S	80	GI
27a	APRŠ	58	BN	81	GN
27b	APRŠT	59	BOST	81a	GNJ̌
28	APRVAN	60	BPR	81b	GNJ̌KR
29	APU	61	BS	82	GNR
30	AR	62	BST	83	GO
31	ARI	62a	BST—	84	GURAN
32	ARJ̌N	62b	BST—	85	H

86	HL
87	HNA
88	HR
88a	HRA
89	HRI
90	HRJ̌
91	HRM
92	HRNI
93	HUBS
94	HUJ́
94a	HUJ̌
95	HURASAN
96	J̌AR
97	KA
253	KAR
98	KARH
99	KIN
100	KNJ̇A
101	KR
101a	KRMAN
101b	KRMANI
101c	KRMAN-AJ̌R
101d	KRMAN-APZ
101e	KRMAN-APZI
101f	KRMAN-AT
101g	KRMAN-AUN
101h	KRMAN-BJ̌
101i	KRMAN-NAR
101j	KRMAN-NAUS
101k	KRMAN-SI
101l	KRMAN-SRA
102	KVAT
103	KVI BBA
103a	KVN BBA
104	KVN RIU
105	M
105a	M
106	MA
107	MADA
108	MB
109	MD
110	MI
111	MIB
111a	MIB
112	MR
112a	MRV
112b	MRV
113	MRVB
114	MRVRUT
115	MŠ
116	NA
117	NAB
118	NAD
119	NAH
120	NAHJ̌
121	NAIJ̌
122	NAJ̌
123	NAR
124	NARNJ̌
125	NAT
126	NB
127	NBI
128	ND
129	NDJ̌
130	NH
131	NHJ̌
132	NHR
133	NI
134	NIH
135	NIHJ̌
135a	NIHJ̌J̇
136	NIHM
137	NIŠ
138	NIT
139	NR
140	NRDI
141	NRJ̌
142	NRVAN
143	NS
144	NSH
145	NSR
146	NŠH
147	NT
148	NU
149	NUB
150	PA
151	PALH—
152	PI
153	PIR
154	PR
155	PŠA
156	RA
157	RAM
158	RAMA
159	RAN
160	RAP
161	RAV
161a	RAV
162	RD
163	RDI
164	RHJ̌
165	RHM
166	RHV
167	RI
167a	RI
168	RIJ̌
168a	RIJ̌
169	RIN
170	RIR
171a	RIU
171b	RIU
171c	RIU
171d	RIU
171e	RIU
172	RIUM
173	RM
174	RS
174a	RSIN
175	RŠT
176	RT
177	RUM
178	S
179	SAJ̌A
180	SD
181	SH
182	SI
183	SIB
184	SIP
185	SIT

186	SIZAǰTAN	211	ŠUŠ	239	ZPASN
187	Sǰ	212	T	239a	ZPASN
188	SK	213	TA	239b	ZPASN
189	SKT	214	TAUT	240	ZPR
190	SMR	215	Tǰ.B	240a	ZPR
191	SNT	216	TR	241	ZPU:
192	SP	217	TRUNVART	242	ZR
193	SPR	218	VB	242a	ZR
194	SŠ	219	VH	242b	ZR
195	ST	220	VHD	242c	ZR
196	STU	221	VIH	243	ZRA
197	SU	222	VR	244	ZRIB
198	SUI	223	VRHǰ	245	ZRIH
199	SUR	224	VRǰ	246	ZRM
200	ŠA	225	VZD	246a	ZRM
201	ŠB	226	Yǰ T	247	ZRN
201a	ŠB	227	YRI	247a	ZRN
202	ŠH	228	YS	248	ZTB
202a	ŠH	229	YŠ	249	ZU
203	ŠI	229a	YŠT	249a	ZU
204	ŠIR	230	YZ	249b	ZU
205	Šǰ	231	Z	250	ZUD
206	ŠN	232	ZAIR	251	ZUPA
207	ŠR	233	ZANK	252	ZUZN.
208	ŠS	234	ZB	252a	ZUZN
209	ŠT	235	ZD	252b	ZUZN:
210	ŠU	236	ZDǰ	252c	ZUZN:
		237	ZDU	252d	ZUZN:
		238	ZM	252e	ZUZUǰN

INTERPRETATION

1. A

Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, year 2
Kobād I, years 16, 20, 31, 33, 40
Khusrau I, year 1
Hormazd IV, year 9
Khusrau II, year 5

2. AB

Bahrām V
Fīrūz 1, year 7 ; undated
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, years 1-3
20, 27-41, 43, 45-48
Hormazd IV, years 2-12
Bahrām VI, year 1
Khusrau II, years 1-12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 23, 25-38

Kobād I, years 11, 13, 14, 16-18, 21-26, 28, 29, 31-38, 40-42
Khusrau I, years 2, 4-11, 19,
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11, 13, 14-16, 21, 31, 33, 35, 37, 38
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2

3. AD

Fīrūz I
Khusrau II, year 29
Kobād I, years 11, 42

4. AH

Bahrām IV
Yazdagard 1
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, year 2
Kobād I, years 11, 13-15, 18, 21, 24-30, 36, 37, 40
Khusrau I, years 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 24-34
Hormzad IV, years 2-12
Khusrau II, years 28-38

5. AHM

Kobād I, year 11
Khusrau I, years 4, 6, 12–15, 18, 20, 30, 32, 34–40, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48
Hormazd IV, years 5, 7–12
Khusrau II, years 1–38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 15, 17, 21, 24–26, 28–30, 33, 35, 37
Kobād II, year 2
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 26, 31 (Y. E.)
Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 52 (A. H.)

The interpretation Ahmatān as proposed by Noldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1877, p. 148), is the most probable. The Pārsīkised form of the name is AHMTAN, as found on a Sāsānian clay seal (Herzfeld, '*Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*', London, 1938, p. 421, fig. 20). This town is the Achæmenian Hagmatāna, the Ecbatana of the Greek writers, the modern Hamadhān, the capital of one of the four divisions of the province of Jibāl, the ancient Media.

6. AHR

Khusrau II, year 4

7. AHT

Khusrau II, year 22

8. AI

Yazdagard I
Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I, year 7; undated
11 Balāsh
Khusrau I, years 1–5, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18–20, 25, 26, 30, 31, 33, 34, 37, 43, 46–48
Hormazd IV, years 1, 2, 4–6, 8–11

Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, years 1, 3
Kobād I, years 11, 13, 15–29, 31–39, 41–43
Fīrūz I

Khusrau II, years 3, 15, 27, 31
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 13

9. AIB

Kobād I, years 18, 36, 38

10. AIM

Khusrau II, years 31, 32
Ardashīr III, year 2

11. AIR

Bahrām IV
Yazdagard I
Fīrūz I
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, year 2
Kobād I, years 11, 36, 37, 40, 42
Khusrau I, years 3, 5, 6, 8, 14, 22, 26, 30, 31, 34
Hormazd IV, years 5, 12
Khusrau II, years 1-15, 24, 25, 28-31, 34, 35, 37
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 12, 13, 27, 30, 31, 37
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 25, 37 (Y.E.)
'Ubaidallah ibn *Ziyād*, years 29 (T.E.), 59 (A.H.)

This mark is not an abbreviation of either AIRA or AIRAN, because these three appear simultaneously for several years on the coins of Khusrau I and Khusrau II.

12. AIRA

Khusrau I, years 22, 26, 38, 43
Khusrau II, years 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 27, 37
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 27, 28
'Ubaidallāh ibn *Ziyād*, year 56 (A. H.)

This mark cannot be an abbreviation of AIRAN, because both of them appear for several years on the same dates on the coins of Khusrau I and Khusrau II.

13. AIRAN

Kobād I, years 22-43
Khusrau I, years 1-43, 45, 46, 48
Hormazd IV, years 3-12
Bahrām VI, year 1
Khusrau II, years 1-12, 14-19, 28-30, 32, 33, 38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 13, 14, 25, 35
Kobād II, year 2
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Hormazd V, year 2
Khusrau V, year 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 25, 29, 30 (Y. E.)
'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 30-32 (T. E.), 60, 61 (A. H.)

It was first pointed out by Nöldeke (*'Tabari'*, p. 58, footnote 1; and in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 691) that official name of Sūsa was Ērānshahr-Shāpūr (or Ērān-Shāpūr) during the Sāsānian period, and now Herzfeld (*Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, London, 1938, p. 425) has given us the full form of the name as Ēran-Khurrah-Shāpūr (AIRAN GDH ŠHPUHR). The mark AIRAN, therefore, indicates Sūsa (al-Sūs), at one time the capital of what later became the province of Khūzistān.

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cvii, nos. 5, 6, 7) considers the marks AIR and AIRA as abbreviations of AIRAN, but he has failed to notice the fact that these three appear for several years on the same dates on the coins of Khusrau I and Khusrau II. No mint would issue simultaneously coins bearing the mint-name in full and in abbreviated forms.

14. AIS

Khusrau I, year 20

15. AIT

Fīrūz I
Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, years 12, 14, 17, 18, 20, 29-32, 34, 35, 37, 39
Khusrau I, years 2, 3, 10, 19, 22, 27

16. AJ̌

Hormazd IV, year 9

17. AJ̌R

Khusrau I, year 21

18. AM

Fīūz I
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, years 1, 3
Kobād I, years 14, 16, 18-20, 24, 26-29, 31, 35-38
Khusrau I, years 7, 10, 13, 14, 17, 21, 24, 26, 30-33, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 45
Hormazd IV, year 12
Khusrau II, years 2-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 13, 14, 16, 29, 30-33, 37
Bōrān, year 1

19. AMA

Khusrau I, year 5
Hormazd IV, year 10

20. AMIU

Khusrau I, year 5

21. AN

Kobād I, years 25, 26, 28, 36

22. ANT

Fīrūz I
Khusrau II, year 7

23. AP

Khusrau I, year 21

24. APAU

Hormazd IV, years 7, 8

25. APH

Khusrau II, years 5, 8, 10, 11, 28

26. APN

Hormazd IV, years 6, 11, 12

27. APR

Kobād I, years 36, 38, 40
Khusrau I, years 2, 3, 8, 27, 28, 32, 36, 46
Hormazd IV, years 2–12
Khusrau II, years 1–7, 9, 10, 35–38
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
'Ubaidallāh ibn *Ziyād*, year 60 (A. H.)

This mark is an abbreviation of APRSTR (Abrashahr), also known as Nīshāpūr. It was the capital of Abrashahr, one of the four quarters of the province of Khurāsān. This interpretation was proposed by Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 124, No. 39) and Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 692).

27a. APRŠ

*Z*iyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 54 (A. H.)

This mark is an abbreviation of APRŠTR; for further information, see no. 27, APR.

27b. APRŠT :

Salm ibn *Z*iyād, years 63, 64 (A. H.)
'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, years 65, 67-69 (A. H.)

This is the name of the town inscribed in full, but the final R is omitted. The vertical strokes at the end are redundant. For further information, see no, 27, APR.

28. APRVAN

Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 32

The name seems to be inscribed in full. Mordtmann ('*Z. D. M. G.*', 1879, p. 130, no. 88) suggests Abiravān, which lay about midway between Herāt and Kandahār in the province of Khurāsān.

29. APU

Hormazd IV, years 3, 11

Khusrau II, year 7

30. AR

Fīrūz I

Khusrau I, years 12, 20, 31, 36, 38-42, 44, 47

Kabād I, years 20, 21, 38, 39

Hormazd IV, years 6, 7, 10

Khusrau II, years 3, 10, 11, 37

31. ARI

Bahrām VI, year 2

32. ARJN

'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād, year 54 (A. H.)
al-Hakam ibn Abi'l-'As, year 56 (A. H.)

Walker ('*B. M. C.*' p. cvii, no. 8) interpretes this mark as Arrajān. It was the capital of Arrajān, one of the five great districts of the province of Pārs.

33. ARM

Kobād I, years 35-37, 41-43

Khusarau I, years 2, 9, 11, 13-16, 35, 38, 39, 46

Hormazd IV, year 8

Khusrau II, year 1

Ardashīr III. year 1

34. AS

Bahrām IV
Yazdagard I
Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I, years 3, 7 ; undated
Balāsh
Kobād I, years 11, 13-27, 29-32, 34-40

Khusrau I, years 1, 4-15, 18-22, 25, 29, 39

Khusrau II, years 3, 8, 10, 21, 35

Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 34, 37

35. ASH

Bahrām IV

36. ASP

Bahrām IV
Yazdagard I
Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, years 1-3

Kobād I, years 11, 16, 18, 30, 31, 35, 39, 40, 43

Khusrau I, years 5-15, 18-23, 34, 40

Khusrau II, years 3, 8, 10, 21, 34, 35, 37

It may be suggested that this mark is an abbreviation of Aspadana, the modern Ispahān, the capital of one of the four divisions of the province of Jibāl, the ancient Media.

37. AST

Kobād I, year 33
Khusrau I, year 21

38. AŠM

Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 29

39. AT

Bahrām IV
Yazdagard I
Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I
Balāsh
Kobād 1, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, year 1
Kobād I, years 16-18, 20-23, 32-36, 38, 39
Khusrau I, years 3, 4, 12, 15, 20, 45
Hormazd IV, years 2, 10-12
Khusrau II, years 2-11, 15, 16, 19-21, 25, 26, 31-37
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11, 13-15, 23-29, 31, 33, 36, 37
Ardashīr III, year 1

40. ATRA

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 62, 63 (A. H.)
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Abdallāh, year uncertain

Mordtmaun (*Z. D. M. G.* 1879, p. 133, no. 102), followed by Walker[1] (*B. M. C.*, p. cix, no. 10), interpreted this mark as Ādharbaijān, but the Pārsīk word for 'fire' (ādhar) is ATUR and not ATRA, so this interpretation is not acceptable.

41. ATU

Bahrām IV

42. AU

Bahrām IV
Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I, years 6, 7 ; undated
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, years 1, 3
Kobād I, years 14, 15, 17–19, 21, 26, 29, 30, 34, 36–40
Khusrau I, years 2–4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 20, 25–35, 38, 41–47
Yazdagard I
Hormazd IV, years 2, 4–12
Khusrau II, years 1–15, 17, 21–37
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 12–16, 26, 29–31, 33, 35
Kobād II, year 2
Ardashīr III, year 2
Bōrān, year 2
Hormazd V, year 2
Yazdagard III, years 6, 16

43. AUH

Bahrām IV

It may be suggested that this mark conceals the name of a place called after its royal patron AUHRMZD.

[1 Walker is not sure of the reading of Mordtmann : see p. clx. J. M. U.]

44. AUM

Fīrūz I
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign

45. AUT

Fīrūz I
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, years 12, 13, 16, 21, 31–35, 37, 39
Khusrau I, years 2, 3, 10–15, 17, 19–24, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34–42, 44–47
Hormazd IV, years 1, 4, 6-12
Khusrau II, years 2-12, 15-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11, 13-17, 21, 23-38
Kobād II, year 2
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Yazdagard III, years 12, 16
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 26, 27, 29, 39, 47 (Y.E.)

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, years 70, 73 (A.H.)
'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 65-67 (A.H.)
'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 47 (A.H.)
Salm ibn Ziyād, year 26 (T.E.)
'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh, years 68-70 (A.H.)
Humrān ibn Abān, year 72 (A.H.)
al-Katarī ibn al-Fujā'a, year 75 (A.H.)
al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra, year 76 (A.H.)
al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, years 77?, 78, 79? (A.H.)
Uncertain governor, years 69, 75 (A.H.)
'Abd al-Rahmān (ibn 'Abdallāh?), year 73 (A.H.)

Yautiyā (Ut) is expressly mentioned by Darius the Great in the Behistūn inscription as a district of Pārs (*The Sculptures and Inscription of Darious the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia*, British Museum Publication, 1907, p. 46). It will be noticed that a modified earlier form of the name was used on Sāsānian coins. From a seal impression on a piece of clay (Herzfeld, *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, London, 1938, p. 425) it seems certain that AUT was officially known as Ardashīr Khurrah (ARTHŠTR GDH). It was the chief of the five great districts of the province of Pārs.

Walker (*B.M.C.* p. cviii, no. 9) has wrongly interpreted the mint-mark as ART, obviously the initial letters of the official name. He has failed to observe that the middle letter, under the form of a vertical stroke, had not the additional phonetic value of R until in the name-legend ARTHŠTR on the coins of Ardashīr III (A. C. 628-630). Epigraphically the reading AUT (Ūt) is more probable than ART in the absence of corroborative evidence. Just as Sūsa was officially known as Ērān-Khurrah-Shāpūr, so was Yautiā (AUT) officially known as Ardashīr-Khurrah.

46. B

Kobād I, 1st reign
Khusrau I, year 24
Khusrau II, years 33, 37
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 39

47. BA

Bahrām IV
Fīrūz I
Jāmāsp, year 1
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 27
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, year 35 (Y. E.)
'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 60, 61 (A. H.)

Mordtmann ('*Z. D. M. G.*', 1879, p. 132, no. 100), followed by Walker ('*B. M. C.*', p. cix, no. 11), reads the mark as BH, but epigraphically the interpretation BA is preferable (see Mordtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 127, no 55).

48. BB

Khusrau II, year 31
The reading of this mark is doubtful.

49. BBA

Bahrām IV
Yazdagard I
Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I, years 4, 7, undated
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, years 1, 2
Kobād I, years 11, 14, 16
Khusrau I, years 6, 27
Khusrau II, years 2-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11, 12, 22-24, 26, 27, 32, 36, 37
Hormazd V, year 2
Yazdagard III, years 19, 20
'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, year 62 (A. H.)
Salm ibn Ziyād, year 37 or 38 (T. E.)
'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, years 67, 68 (A. H.)
Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, year 77 (A. H.)

All authorities on the subject agree in reading this mark as BBA, and the same interpretation is to be found in the Pārsīk glossaries. Mordtman (*Z. D. M. G.* 1879, p. 114 f., no. 2) is of the opinion that this mark indicates 'the Capital, the Residence,' that is Ctesiphon, but this interpretation is not admissible. This city fell into the hands of the Arabs about A. C. 638, but Yazdagard III, the last Sāsānian monarch, issued coins from the mint BBA dated the years 19 and 20 (=A. C. 650 and 651 respectively), that is a long time after the city was in the possession of the Arabs. As the Persian monarch, was in the distant eastern province of his empire during the last two years of his reign, this mint must be located in that region. In support of this fact we have the additional evidence that almost all the

Arab governors who issued coins from this mints were located in the vicinity of Herāt, Merv or Balkh in the province of Khurāsān.

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxii, no. 14) incorrectly interprets the mark BBA as BLH, that is Balkh. In support of this interpretation he has illustrated parallel instances of the mint-marks

PPRŠT : (no. 27b here),
HUBS (no. 93 here), which he wrongly reads as HURA,
HURASAN (no. 95 here),
MRV (no. 112b here),
PIR (no. 153 here), which he reads as FIL, and
ZD (no. 235 here), which he wrongly reads as RD, to show that the second letter of the mark in dispute is similar to the letter R (or L) of these marks.

Epigraphically the interpretation BLH is impossible. The first letter of the mark under discussion is indisputably B and the second is a replica of the first. In the parallel instances the letter R (or L) has a very short tail, and is joined to the letter which follows it. In the Pārsīk inscriptions on rocks and coins the letter B is never joined to the letter which follows it, and is always distinguishable by its tail elongated towards the left. Both these characteristics are found in the first as well as the second letter of the mark in dispute. As demonstrated above, the second letter cannot be anything but B; compare the mint-marks beginning with or containing the letter B. Walker's conception of the letter B is difficult to understand. He reads the mint-marks BBA as BLH, HUBS as HURA, MB as MR, NB as NH, and conversly YŠ as BŠ, ZRM as BRM, and ZU as BN.

The last letter of the mark in dispute is undoubtedly A and not H. On Sāsānian coins the letter A received the additional phonetic value of H for the first time in the name-legend ARTHŠTR on the coins of Ardashīr III (A.C. 628–630).

Walker has failed to take into consideration the facts that the form of the letter R (or L) was quite different to that of B, and that the letter A had not the additional phonetic value of H, during the reign of Bahrām IV (A. C. 388–399) when the mark BBA made its first appearance on coins.

Epigraphically we have the additional evidence of the mint-marks KARH (no. 98 here) and PALH–(no. 151 here). On comparing the letters L (R) and H of these marks with the second and third letters, respectively, of the mark in dispute, it will be noticed that the interpretation BLH cannot be maintained.

It is important to note that the Pārsīkised form of the name of the city of Balkh is BAHL (Bākhl, Avestan, Bākhdhi, Achæmenian Bākhtri ; compare the form Bactria) and not BLH (Balkh) as Walker presumes.

50. BHR

Bahrām IV — Khusrau I, year 11
Hormazd IV, years 10, 12 — Bahrām V.
It may be an abbreviation of BIAB (no. 51b).

51a. BIA

Kobād I, year 39 — Khusrau I, year 27
This mark may be an abbreviation of BIAB (no. 51b.)

51b. BIAB

Khusrau II, year 21
This seems to be the name of a town inscribed in full.

52. BIGN

Bahrām V
It may be the full name of a town.

53. BIST

Kobād I, years 32, 39 — Khusrau I, year 29
It appears to be the full name of a town.

54. BIŠ

Bahrām IV — Yazdagard I
Fīrūz I — Jāmāsp, year 2
Kobād I, years 12, 14-17, 19-23, 25,26, 30-32, 34-38, 40, 41
Khusrau I, years 6, 7, 10, 14, 17-20, 23, 25,48
Hormazd IV, years 1-12
Khusrau II, years 1-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11-15, 20-38
Ardashīr III, year 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 25, 26,31, 35, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45, 47-50 (Y. E.)
Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 25 (T. E.), 47?, 50-54, 56 (A. H.)
'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 44 (A. H.)
'Abdallah (ibn 'Amir), years 42, 44 (A. H.)
'Ubaidallah ibn Ziyād, years 51, 53 (Y. E.)
'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Abdallāh, year 66 (A. H.)
'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh, years 67-70 (A. H.)
Mukātil ibn Misma' ,years 71, 72 (A. H.)
Khalid ibn 'Abdallāh, years 71, 73?, 74 (A. H.)
al-Katarī ibn al-Fujā'a, years 69, 75 (A. H.)
al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra, years 75, 76 (A. H.)
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muhammad, year 82 (A. H.)
al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, years 76-79, 80?, 81, 83 (A. H.)

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All writers on the subject agree in interpreting this mark as an abbreviation of BIŠHPUHR (Bīshāpūr), the smallest of the five great districts of the province of Pārs. This interpretation is confirmed by the find of a clay impression of a Sāsānian seal bearing this name both in an abbreviated and in a complete form (Herzfeld, *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress*, London, 1938, p. 418, fig. 6).

55. BǏ

Fīrūz I
Kobād I, years 32, 35
Khusrau I, years 5, 30, 33, 34, 43
Hormazd IV, years 2-12
Khusrau II, years 4, 6, 13, 14, 17, 20-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 23, 33, 35
Yazdagard III, years 12, 19, 20
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau type, years 45, 47 (Y. E.)

As this mark appears on the coins of Yazdagard III, dated the years 19 and 20, when he was in the distant eastern province of his empire, this mint must be located in the vicinity of Herāt, Merv or Balkh in the province of Khurāsān.

Walker ('*B. M. C.*' p. cxxxii, no. 60) has confused the marks BǏ and BN.

56. BǏRA

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 51 or 53, 55 (A. H.)
'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 51, 52 (Y. E.), 56-46 (A.H.)
Mus'ab ibn al-Zubair, year 66 ? (A. H.)
Khālid ibn 'Abdallah, year 75 (A. H.)
'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh ?, year 65 ? (A: H.)
It was the celebrated Arab capital al-Basra in the province of 'Irāq.

57. BǏŠ

Khurau I, year 36

58. BN

Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, years 25, 30, 35, 37, 39, 40
Khusrau I, years 10, 11, 13-15, 17, 23, 25, 26, 28-48
Hormazd IV, years 1-12
Khusrau II, years 1-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 23
Kobād II, year 2
Ardashīr III, year 2
Hormazd V, year 1
Yazdagard III, years 6, 11, 12, 15, 19, 20

Arab-Sāsānian, Yazdagard III type, year 20 (Y. E.)
'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir), year 20 (Y. E.)
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād, years 52, 53 (A. H.)

This mint must be located in the vicinity of Herāt, Merv or Balkh in the province of Khurāsān, because Yazdagard III was in the distant eastern province of his empire during the last two years of his reign when he struck his coins bearing this mint-mark.

Walker (*B.M.C.* p. cxxxii, no. 60) has confused the marks BJ̌ and BN, although the former does not appear on Arab-Sāsānian coins bearing the names of the Umaiyad governors.

59. BOST

Khusrau I, year 18

This mark may indicate Bost, one of the principal towns in the provinces of Sakastān (Sīstān).

60. BPR

Hormazd IV, year 3

61. BS•

Kobād I, year 42

62. BST

Kobād I, year 42 — Khusrau I, year 12, 29

This seems to be the name of a town inscribed in full.

62a. BST—

Kobād I, years 41, 42

This is the same as no. 62. The dash at the end denotes that the name is inscribed in full.

62b. BST—

Kobād I, 30, 35, 41 — Khusrau I, year 12

The sign at the end does not correspond to any letter of Pārsīk alphabet. It is intended to show that the name is inscribed in full.

63. BŠA

Kobād I, years 18, 32
Khusrau I, year 29
Hormazd IV, years 10, 12
Khusrau II, years 1, 29
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 28
Ardashīr III, year 2

64. BU

Fīrūz I
Khusrau I, years 13, 26–28, 40

65. BUA

Jāmāsp, year 2
Khusrau I, year 6

66. BUBU

Jāmāsp, year 2	Khusrau I, year 6

67. BZ

Kobād I, year 31

68. BZT

Fīrūz I	Kobād I, year 42

68a. BZT

Khusrau I, year 23

The middle letter is of an unusual form. The mark seems to be the same as no. 68, but Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 128, no. 67) reads it as BRT.

69. D

Bahrām IV	Yazdagard III, year 20

As this mark appears on the coins of Yazdagard III dated the year 20, this mint must be located in the eastern part of the province of Khurāsān.

69a. D

Khusrau II, year 31

It is doubtful whether or not this sign is a modified form of the letter D.

70. DA

Bahrām IV	Mu'āwiya, year 41 (A. H.)
Yazdagard I	'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 53, 54, 56, 57 (Y. E.)
Bahrām V	Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 41 (Y. E.)
Fīrūz I, year 6; undated	'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir), year 41 (A. H.)
Kobād I, 1st reign	'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir), year 41 (A. H.)
Kobād I, years 12, 15–21, 23–28, 30–38, 41, 42	'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 26 (T. E.), 41, 43, 45–48, 51, 52 (Y. E.)
Khusrau I, years 2–48	Salm ibn Ziyād, year 26 (T.E.)
Hormazd IV years 1–12	al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra, year 76 (A. H.)
Khusrau II, years 1–38	'Abi al-Rahmān ibn Muhammad, year 70 (Y. E.)
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 12–15, 17, 23–39	
Kobād II, year 2	
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2	
Yazdagard III, years 2, 3	
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau III type, years 26, 30, 41, 43, 45–49 (Y. E.)	

DA is an abbreviation of DARAPKRT (Dārābgard). It was the capital of Dārābgard, one of the five great districts of the province of Pārs.

70a. DAR

Bahrām IV

This mark is an abbreviation of DARAPKRT (Dārābgard); see no. 70.

70b. DARAPKR

Bahrām IV

This is the name of Dārābgard inscribed in full, except the last letter T ; see no. 70.

70c. DA–P

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, years 60, 65 (Y. E.)
'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 54, 56, 60 (Y. E.)

On the drachms of 'Abdallāh ibh al-Zubair, dated the years Y. E. 54 and 56 (*B. M. C.*, Pl. VI. 2, 3), the letter P is inscribed above and not in continuation of the mint-mark DA, while on those of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, dated the years Y. E. 60 and 65 ('*B. M. C.*', Pl. XXXI. 7, 8), and of 'Abdallāh ibh al-Zubair, dated the years Y. E. 54 and 60 ('*B. M. C.*', Pl. VI. 1, 6), the mark DA is inscribed in the usual place, whereas the letter P is in the field to the left of the altar. From this evidence it appears that the letter P is an additional mark indicating a sub-mint in the district of Dārābgard.

Walker ('*B. M. C.*', p. cxvi, no. 20) reads this mark as DAP and wrongly considers it to be an abbreviation of Dārābgard.

This mint must not be confused with no. 72, DAP.

70d. DA-ZAUM

al-Katarī ibn al-Fujā'a, year 75 (A. H.)

The letters above the mark DA seem to be ZAUM, which is probably the name of a sub-mint in the district of Dārābgard.

Walker ('*B.M.C.*', p. cxvi, no. 22) reads the whole mark as DARAW--?, that is Dārābgard ; but he has failed to notice that it is not the Pārsīkised form of the name.

70e. DA-?

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, year 60 (Y. E.)
'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, year 60 (Y. E.)

The two signs above the letters DA are of unusual forms and of doubtful reading, but Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxvi, no. 21) reads them as RAW. These two signs seem to indicate a sub-mint in the district of Dārābgard. The Pārsīkised form of the name is DARAPKRT and not DARAW.

71. DAD

Khusrau II, year 31

72. DAP

Mu'āwiya, year 41 (A. H.)
Samura ibn Jundab, year 41 (Y. E.)

Walker (*B.M.C.*, p. cxvi, no. 18) wrongly reads this mark as DAR, and follows Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 131, no. 94) in interpreting it as Dārābgard. The last letter of the mark is P and not R; compare no. 70a, DAR.

The mint DAP is probably located in the vicinity of the district of Dārābgard in the province of Pārs, but it must not be confused with no 70c, DA-P

73. DH

Yazdagard I

74. DIN

Khusrau II, years 36, 37

75. DINAN

Kobād I, years 32-36
This seems to be the name of a town inscribed in full.

75a. DIVAN

Kobād I, year 33

This may be the same as no. 75, because the letters N and V are often found inscribed alike on coins.

76. DINAS

Kobād I, year 35

This mark appears to be the name of a town inscribed in full.

76a. DINNAS

Kobād I, year 40

It appears to be the same as no. 76, the additional N in the middle may be an error of the die-engraver.

77. DINAT

Kobād I, years 33, 36
This may be the full name of a town.

78. DP

Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, year 30 (Y.E.)
Ziyād ibu Abī Sufyān, year 43 (Y. E.)
'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 41 (A. H.)
'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir), year 41 (A. H.)

Walker (*B.M.C.*) p. cxvi, on. 19) wrongly reads this mark as DR, and follows Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 131, no. 94) in interpreting it as Dārābgard. The last letter is P and not R; compare no. 79, DR.

It is possible that the mint DP is located in the vicinity of the district of Dārābgard in the province of Pārs.

79. DR

Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, year 39
Khusrau I, years 8, 16, 18, 21-23, 27, 30, 31, 35
Hormazd IV, years 2, 4
Khusrau II, years 1, 6, 7, 10-14, 17, 25-31, 33-35, 37
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 31

80. GI

Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, year 2
Kobād I, years 12, 14-17, 20, 21,25,26,28,30,31,38,40
Khusrau I, years 2, 12, 18, 20, 23, 26, 39
Hormazd IV, year 2
Khusrau II, year 11

81. GN

Hormazd IV, years 3, 6
Khusrau II, year 29

This may be an abbreviation of no. 81b, GNJ̌KR.

81a. GNJ̌

Khusrau I, year 26

It appears to be an abbreviation of no. 81b, GNJ̌KR.

81b. GNJ̌KR

Kobād I, years 34–37
This seems to be the full name of a town.

82. GNR

Yazdagard I
Yazdagard II

83. GO

Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign
Khusrau I, years 12, 28, 20, 22–24, 26, 27, 29–33, 36–40
Hormazd IV, years 2, 3, 5, 10–13
Khusrau II, years 2, 3, 8–11, 15, 20, 24, 28, 34, 37
Khusrau II, (AFD on obv, margin), years 17, 31, 37, 38

84. GURAN

Hormazd IV, year 8
This seems to be the full name of a town.

85. H

Bahrām IV
Khusrau II, year 30

86. HI

Yazdagard I

87. HNA

Yazdagard I

88. HR

Bahrām IV
Bahrām V
Fīrūz I
Kobād I, years 25, 28, 30-32, 34-36, 38-40
Khusrau I, years 3, 7, 18, 19, 21-23, 44
Hormazd IV, years 2, 5, 12
Khusrau II, years 3, 8, 10, 37
Hormazd V, year 2
Yazdagard I
Yazdagard II

All writers on the subject interpret this mark as an abbreviation of Herāt. It was the capital of Herāt, one of the four quarters of the province of Khurāsān ; see no. 88a, HRA.

88a HRA

Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, year 27 (Y. E.)
'Ubaidallāh (ibn Ziyād), years 52?, 56 (A. H.)
Salm ibn Ziyād, years 67, 69 (A. H.)
Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, year 67 (A. H.)
Kahtān?, year 67 (A. H.)

It seems certain from the coins of Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh bearing this mark and dated the year 67 (A. H.) that HRA indicates Herāt, because he was the governor of that city in the year A. H. 67. It was the capital of Herāt, one of the four quarters of the province of Khurāsān.

89. HRI

Bahrām V
Hormazd IV, year 2
Fīrūz I, year 3

90. HRǰ

Kobād I, pear 32
Khusrau I, year effaced

91. HRM

Hormazd IV, year 8

92. HRNI

Kobād I, years 30, 41

93. HUBS

'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, year 63
'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim,
Arab-Ephthalite coins, years 63, 68, 69 (A. H.)
Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, year 64 (Y. E.)

Thomas (*J.R.A.S.*, 1850, p. 300) and Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 134, no. 105) both agree in interpreting this mark as HUBS. As this name appears on the Arab-Ephthalite coins, this mint must be located in the eastern part of the province of Khurāsān.

Walker (*B.M.C.*, p. cxix, no. 25) wrongly interprets HUBS as HURA ?, and as a parallel instance, he illustrates the mark ZD (no. 235 here), which he wrongly reads as RD, to show that the third letter of the mark in dispute is R and not B. It must be noted that the two letters of the parallel instance are joined together. In the Pārsīk inscriptions on rocks and coins the letter B is never joined to the letter which follows it, and is always distinguishable by its tail elongated towards the left. Both these characteristics are found in the third letter of the mark in dispute, therefore, it is B and not R.

The mark HUBS is epigraphically made up of Au (no. 42 here) and BS (no. 61 here). On comparing the latter with the last two letters of the mark in dispute, it will be noticed that the interpretation HURA cannot be maintained.

Walker has confused the letters B and R ; see notes on no. 49, BBA, and no. 235, ZD.

94. HUǏ

Khusrau I, years 21-27, 31, 39 Khusrau II, year 5

It may be a town peopled by the Hūz tribe, who gave their name to the province of Khūzistān.

94a. HUǏ

Kobād I, year 35

This mark seems to be the same as no. 94, but inscribed in a peculiar style.

95. HURASAN

Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, year 74 (A. H.)

This is the name of the province of Khurāsān inscribed in full.

96. ǏAR

Hormazd IV, year 10

97. KA

Bahrām IV
Yazdagard I
Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I
Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād 21, 28, 32, 33, 35, 38, 41
Khusrau I, years 3, 4, 6, 17, 18, 20
Khusrau II, years 10–38

It may be an abbreviation of no. 98, KARH ; see no. 253, KAR. [see No. 253 for KLR.]

98. KARH

Bahrām IV

It may be the full name of a town ; see no. 253, KAR.

99. KIN

Bahrām IV

100. KNJA

'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir), year 40 (A. H.)

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxx, no. 27) does not feel confident regarding the identification Kanja as proposed by Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 131, no. 95), but he can suggest nothing feasible. Kanja or Ganja is in the province of Arrān to the north-west of Persia.

101. KR

Bahrām IV — Yazdagard I
Bahrām V — Fīrūz I
Balāsh — Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, year 2
Kobād I, years 11, 14-18, 21, 28, 30-38, 40, 41
Khusrau I, years 1, 6, 17, 19-39, 41, 47
Hormazd IV, years 2, 3, 5, 7, 8
Khusrau II, years 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 35
Bōrān, year 1

All writers on the subject agree in interpreting this mark as an abbreviation of KRMAN, the chief town of the province of the same name.

101a. KRMAN

'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh, year 65 (A. H.)
'Atīya ibn al-Aswad, year 74, 75 (A. H.)

It is the full name of the chief town of the province of the same name.

101b. KRMANI

'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 66, 69 (A. H.)

This mark is the same as no. 101a, the final I being redundant.

101c. KRMAN-AJR

'Ubaidallāh ibh Ziyād, year 62 (A. H.)

KRMAN is the name of the province, and AJR indicates one of its sub-mints.

101d. KRMAN-APZ

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, year 60 (A. H.)

The letters APZ are the initial letters of the name of one of the sub-mints in the province of KRMAN.

101e. KRMAN-APZI

'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, year 63 (A. H.)
This seems to be the the same as no. 101d.

101f. KRMAN-AT

'Abdallah ibn al-Zubair, year 67 (A. H.)
AT indicates one of the sub-mints in the province of KRMAN.

101g. KRMAN-AUN

Mus'ab ibn al-Zubair, years 69, 70 ? (A. H.)
'Atīya ibn al-Aswad, year 72 (A. H.)
AUN is a sub-mint in the province of KRMAN.

101h. KRMAN-BJ̆

'Atīya ibn al-Aswad, year 73 or 76 (A. H.)
BJ̆ indicates a sub-mint in the province of KRMAN.

101i. KRMAN-NAR

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 59, 61 (A. H.)
'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, year 68 (A. H.)
Mus'ab ibn al-Zubair, years 71, 72 ? (A. H.)
'Atīya ibn al-Aswad, year 75 (A. H.)
al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra, years 76-78 (A. H.)
NAR is a sub-mint in the province of KRMAN.

101j. KRMAN-NAUS

'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, year 60 (A. H.)
'Abdallāh ibn al Zubair, year 62 (A. H.)
KRMAN is the name of the province and NAUS indicates one of its sub-mints.

101k. KRMAN-SI

'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, year 67 (A. H.)
SI indicates a sub-mint in the province of KRMAN.

101l, KRMAN–SRA

'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, year 67 (A. H.)

KRMAN is the name of the province and SRA indicates one of its sub-mints.

102. KVAT

Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 52 (A. H.)

This mark conceals the name of a place called after its royal patron KVAT. The interpretation Kavāt-Khurrah (KVAT GDH), a district of the province of Pārs, as suggested by Walker (*B. M. C.*,) p. cxxi, no. 38) seems to be probable.

103. KVI BBA

Bahrām IV

The word KVI, that is 'royal', seems to have been an honorific epithet conferred on the town indicated by the mark BBA ; see no. 49.

103a. KVN BBA

Bahrām IV

The word KVN, that is 'royal', may have been an honorific epithet conferred on the town indicated by the mark BBA; see nos. 49 and 103.

104. KVN RIU

Zazdagard I

The honorific epithet KVN, that is 'royal', seems to have been conferred on Rēw-Ardashīr, the town indicated by the mark RIU; see no. 171.

105. M

Fīrūz I
Kobād I, 1st reign

105a. M

Fīrūz I
Kobād I, 1st reign
Hormazd IV, year 3

106. MA

Bahrām IV
Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, years 1—3
Kobād I, years 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 26—29, 31, 36—40
Khusrau I, years 4, 20
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 14, 29

107. MADA

Hormazd IV, year 6

108. MB

Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I, year 4; undated
Kobād I, 1st regin
Jāmāsp, years 1—3
Kobād I, years 15, 19, 24, 25, 27, 29—31, 33, 35—41
Khusrau I, years 2, 4, 5, 9, 11—20, 24—48
Hormazd IV, years 1—12
Bahrām VI, year 1
Khusrau II, years 1—39
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11, 13, 17, 20, 27, 30, 35, 38
Ardashīr III, year 1
Bōrān, year 1
Hormazd V, year 2
Yazdagard III, year 20
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, year 48 (Y. E.)

As this mark appears on the coins of Yazdagard III dated the year 20, this mint must be located in the eastern part of the province of Khurāsān.

It is difficult to understand how Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxxii, no. 40a) should have interpreted this mark as MR. His conception of the letters B and R is difficult to follow.

109. MD

Kobād I, years 34, 35, 41

110. MI

Fīrūz I

111. MIB

Hormazd IV, years 2, 3, 7
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, year 35 (Y. E.)

111a. MIB

112. MR

Bahrām V
Fīrūz I, years 3, 6 ; undated
Kobād I, years 22, 24, 27-43
Hormazd IV, years 1-12
Khusrau II, years 1-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 20, 21, 23-29, 31-37
Ardashīr III, year 1
Yazdagard II
Jāmāsp, year 2
Khusrau I, years 1-48
Bahrām VI, year 2
Yazdagard III, year 20
Arab-Sāsānian, Yazdagard III type, year 20 (Y. E.)
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 21, 25, 48 (Y. E.)

All writers on the subject interpret this mark as an abbreviation of MRV. It was the capital of Merv, one of the four quarters of the province of Khurāsān.

112a. MRV

Bahrām V

This is the name of the city of Merv inscribed in full ; see no. 112.

112b. MRV

Salm ibn *Z*iyād, years 62-65, 66?, 67?, 68?, 69, 70 (A. H.)
'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, years 63-67, 68?, 69, 70, 72, 73 (A. H.)
{'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim,
{Arab-Ephthalite coins, year 69 (A. H.)
'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, year 75 (A. H.)
This is the same as no. 112a.

113. MRVB

Khusrau I, year 9

114. MRVRUT

Salm ibn *Z*iyād, years 63, 64, 67?, 70 (A. H.)

'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim, year 69 (A. H.)
Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, year 64 (Y. E.)

This is the full name of the town of Merv al-Rudh, which lay about midway between Herāt and Merv in the province of Khurāsān.

115. MŠ
Fīrūz I

116. NA
Fīrūz I

117. NAB
Khusrau II, year 14

118. NAD
Khusrau II, year effaced

119. NAH
Hormazd IV, years 2, 5 — Khusrau II, years 3, 25, 26

120. NAHǏ
Khusrau I, year 28 — Khusrau II, year 34

121. NAIǏ
Khusrau I, year 31

122. NAǏ
Khusrau II year 9

123. NAR
Khusrau I, years 6, 7, 27, 28, 38, 39, 42-46, 48
Hormazd IV, years 2-12
Khusrau II, years 2-11, 13, 15, 16, 20-23, 25-37
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 25, 29, 38
Ardashīr III, year 2
Yazdagard III, years 10, 11, 19, 20
Arab-Sāsānian, Yazdagard III type, year 20 (Y. E.)
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, year 27 (Y. E.)

This place must be located in the vicinity of Herāt, Merv or Balkh in the province of Khurāsān, because Yazdagard III was in the distant eastern part of his empire when he issued the coins bearing the mark NAR and dated the years 19 and 20.

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxxiv, no. 44) has confused the marks NAR and NHR.

124. NARNǰ

Hormazd IV, year 7

This mark is inscribed in such a peculiar style that its interpretation seems to be doubtful. The three dots at the end probably denote that the name is inscribed in full.

125. NAT

Khusrau II, years 10, 18, 28

126. NB

Fīrūz I
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, years 15, 17, 24, 28, 29, 31, 34-41
Khusrau I, years 3, 4, 6-8, 15, 17, 19, 20, 25-28, 32, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 45, 46
Hormazd IV, years 5, 8-12
Bahrām VI, year 1
Khusrau II, years 1-7, 9-16, 21-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 13-16, 21, 23, 30, 35, 37, 38
Ardashīr III, year 2
Yazdagard III, years 11, 13
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, year 30 (Y. E.)
Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 51-53 (A. H.)
'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 57-60, 62, 63 (A. H.)

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxxiii, no. 43b) has confused the marks NB and NH. The form of the letter B is so dissimilar to that of H that it is impossible to confuse them. His conception of the letter B is difficult of understand.

127. NBI

Kobād I, years 38, 39

128. ND

Kobād I, years 15, 41
Khusrau I, year 25
Khusrau II, year 15

129. NDǰ

Kobād I, years 15, 41
Khusrau I, year 25

130 NH

Bahrām V
Balāsh
Fīrūz I
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, year 3
Kobād I, years 12, 13, 15-17, 21, 28, 30-32, 35-41, 43

Khusrau I, years 2-7, 10-13, 15-17, 20, 24, 25, 28-36, 38, 40-43, 45-47
Hormazd IV, years 2, 4, 6, 8-12
Khusrau II, years 2-17, 19-21, 23-37
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11-16, 21-29, 32, 33, 35-37
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Khusrau V, year 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 25, 26, 28, 29, 33 (Y.E.)
'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir), year 41 (A. H.)
Mus'ab ibn al-Zubair, year 69 ? (A. H.)

All writers on the subject interpret this mark as Nihāvand, latterly known as Māh al-Basra, an important town in the province of Jibāl, the ancient Media.

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxiii, no. 43) has confused the marks NB and NH.

131. NHJ̌

Khusrau I, year 29

132. NHR

Khusrau II, year 28
Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 52, 53 (A. H.)
'Abdallāh ibn 'Amir, year 20 (Y. E.)
'Abdallāh (ibn 'Amir), years 20 (Y. E.), 48 (A. H.)
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād, year 54 (A. H.)
al-Hakam ibn Abi'l-'As, year 56 (A. H.)

The interpretation Nahr-Tīrā as proposed by Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 124, no. 40) seems to be the most probable. It was a town near Ahwāz in the province of Khūzistān.

Walker (*B.M.C.*, p. cxxiv, no. 44) has confused the marks NAR and NHR.

133. NI

Fīrūz I

134. NIH

Kobād I, years 28, 30, 31, 36, 37, 39, 41
Khusrau I, years 3, 5, 7, 9, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 26-36, 40, 41, 43-48
Hormazd IV, years 2, 7-12
Khusrau II, years 1-19, 21-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 4, 11-17, 21, 23-38
Ardashīr III, year 1
Khusrau V, year 2
Arab Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 27, 33, 37 (Y. E.)
14 Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year uncertain

Walker ('*B. M. C.*', p. cxxv, no. 45) has confused the marks NH and NIH by ignoring the middle letter I of the latter He has failed to observe that both these marks appear for several years on the same dates on the coins of seven Sāsānian monarchs. This fact shows that these two marks cannot indicate one and the same place.

135. NIHJ

Kobād I, year 36
Khusrau I, years 6, 11, 14, 21-48
Hormazd IV, years 2-12
Bahrām VI, year 1
Khusrau II, years 1-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11-13, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35-38
Kobād II, year 2
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Bōrān, year 1
Hormazd V, years 1, 2
Khusrau V, year 2
Yazdagard III, years 3, 4, 7
'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh, year 69 (A. H.)

This mint must be located in the province of Pārs, because 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh was governor of that province from A. H. 67 to 70, and his coins dated the year A. H. 69 bear the mint mark NIHǰ.

Walker (*B. M. C.* p. cxxv, no. 45) has confused the marks NIH, NIHǰ and NŠH.

135a. NIHǰǰ

Khusrau II, year 2

It is the same as no. 135, the additional ǰ at the end seems to be an error of the die-engraver.

136. NIHM

Khusrau II, years 14, 31

137. NIŚ

Khusrau I, years 30, 48

138. NIT

Khusrau I, year 41

139. NR

Kobād I, 1st reign
Khusrau II, year 36
Hormazd IV, year 11

140. NRDI

Fīrūz I

141. NRJ̌

Fīrūz I
Khusrau I, year 44
Hormazd IV, years, 3, 5, 7, 10
Ārdashīr III, years, 1, 2
Bōrān, year 1

142. NRVAN

Hormazd IV, year effaced

This seems to be the name of a place inscribed in full. Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 124, no. 41) interprets it as Nahravān, a district in the province of 'Īrāq.

143. NS

Khusrau I, year 22

144. NSH

Khusrau II, year 37

145. NSR

Hormazd IV, year 10
Khusrau II, year 15

146. NŠH

Hormazd IV, year 11
'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, year 27 ? (T.E.)

Walker (*B.M.C.*, p. cxxv, no. 45) has confused the marks NIH, NIHJ and NSH.

147. NT

Khusrau II, year 12

148. NU

Yazdagard II
Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, years 14, 15

149. NUB

Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 24

150. PA

Bahrām IV

151. PALH

Salm ibn Ziyād, year 63 (A.H.)

There is a sign of doubtful reading at the end of this mark, which is ignored by Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 134, no. 104), but interpreted as AN by Walker (*B.M.C.*, p. cxxv, no. 46). The former interprets the mark as PALH, that is Balkh, and the latter leaves it as an unsolved problem.

As all coins of Salm ibn Ziyād dated the years from A. H. 62 to 70 were issued from the mints located in the province of Khurāsān, the mint PALH must also be located in that province.

152. PI

Fīrūz I

153. PIR

Khusrau II, year 30
al-Hakam ibn Abı l-'Ās, year 56, 57 (A. H.)

This mark seems to conceal the name of a place associated with the Sāsānian monarch PIROǰ, after whom the place was named.

Walker (*B. M, C.*, p. cxxv, no. 47) equates this mark with the Arabic Fīl, which was one of the Umaiyad mints of the Reformed Currency, but he finds no record of any place of such a name in Khūzistān or Pārs.

154. PR

Kobād I, years 17, 21, 25, 26, 32, 34, 35, 37–39
Khusrau I, years 2, 5, 7, 9–12, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29–32, 35–44.
Hormazd IV, years 2, 5–7, 9–13
Khusrau II, years 2–8, 10,15, 18, 19, 21, 25–27, 29–31, 35–39
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 12–14, 17, 38,39
Ardashīr III, year 1

155. PŠA

Khnsrau II, year 21

The initial letter of the mark is inscribed in a retrograde form. Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 121, no. 28) interprets this mark as Pasā, a town in the province of Pārs, but the middle letter of the mark is Š and not S, so this interpretation seems to be donbtful.

Fīrūz I
Kobād I, years 31, 37, 42
Jāmāsp, year 3
Khusrau II, years 25, 31, 35

157. RAM

Fīrūz I
Kobād I, year 12
Khusrau I, years 11, 24, 25, 27–33, 35, 37, 38, 40–47
Hormazd IV, years 5–12
Khusrau II, years 2–4, 6–11, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 26, 28, 30–34, 36, 37
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11, 13–16, 33, 35
Ardashīr III, years I

The interpretation Rām-Hormuz as proposed by Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p 124, no. 37) seems to be the most probable, because the Umaiyads had maintained a mint at Rāmhurmuz, a town is the province of Kkūzistān, for their dirhams of the Reformed Currency. The old name of the town was Rām.-Hormuz-Ardashīr.

158. RAMA

Khusrau II, years 27–29, 37

De Morgan (*Revue Numismatique*, 1913, p. 486, $ 127) has proposed the interpretation of this mark as Rām-Ardashīr, which seems to be likely. This was an old town in the province of Pārs.

159 RAN

Hormazd IV, year 10

160. RAP

Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 14

161. RAV

Khusrau II, year 21 — Hormazd V, year effaced

161a. RAV

Khusrau II, year 21

This mark seems to be the same as no. 161, but inscribed in a peculiar style.

162. RD

Bahrām IV — Yazdagard I
Bahrām V — Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I, years 3, 6, 8; undated
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, years 12-15, 18, 19, 22, 24-32, 34, 35, 38-41
Khusrau I, years 1-3, 5, 10, 12-15, 17-35, 38-48
Hormazd IV, years 1-3, 5-13
Bistām, years 2-6, 10
Khusrau II, years 2, 3, 8-17, 19-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 12-17, 22-29, 33-37
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 29, 32 (Y. E.)

Noldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1877, p. 149 f.; and *'Tabari'*, p. 486, footnote 2) was the first to propose the correct interpretation of this mark as Raī, and he has been followed by others in recent years.

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxxvi, no. 48) has briefly stated the philological aspect of the question as a pseudo-archaistic rendering of RY by RD, but he has confused the marks RD and *ZD*.

The important town of Raiy, the Rhages of the Ancients, lay in the neighbourhood of Teherān in the province of Jibāl, the ancient Media.

163. RDI

Bahrām IV — Yazdagard I

164. RHJ̌

Hormazd IV, year 7

165. RHM

Hormazd IV, year uncertain

166. RHV

Hormazd IV, years 7, 9, 12

167. RI

Kobād I, years 16, 22, 38, 40, 43
Khusrau II, years 2, 30, 33, 35
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 35

167a. RI

Fīrūz I — Balāsh
Kobād I, year 33

168. RIJ̌

Khusrau II, year 35
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 35

168a. RIJ̌

Khusrau II, year 15

169. RIN

Balāsh

170. RIR

Kobād I, 1st reign — Khusrau I, year 44

171. RIU

Bahrām IV — Bahrām V
Fīrūz I, year 3 ; undated — Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, years 15, 26, 31, 34, 35, 37-41
Khusrau I, years 3, 8, 12, 14, 17, 20, 30, 31, 34-40, 42-48
Hormzad IV, years 5, 7-9, 12
Khusrau II, years 1, 2, 4-8, 10-12, 14-17, 20-28, 30-38

Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11-14, 16, 17, 20-28, 30-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 11-14, 16, 17, 19, 29, 31, 35
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 35, 43 (Y. E.)

Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1877, p. 149 f.; and 1879, p. 692) has proposed the interpretation of this mark as Rēw-Ardashīr, a town in the province of Pārs. This interpretation is the most likely.

171a. RIU

Balāsh

This mark is the same as no. 171

171b. RIU

Balāsh
Kobād I, year 34

This mark is the same as no. 171.

171c. RIU

Kobād I, year 37
Khusrau II, years 24, 35
Yazdagard III, year 1
Hormazd IV, year 12
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2

This mark is the same as no. 171.

171d. RIU

Khusrau II, years 9, 10
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 15

This mark is the same as no. 171, but inscribed in a peculiar style.

171e. RIU

Khusrau II, year 27

This mark is the same as no. 171, but inscribed in a peculiar style.

172. RIUM

Khusrau II, year 7

173. RM

Khusrau II, year 19

174. RS

Yazdagard I
Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, years 19, 42
Bahrām V
Jāmāsp, year 3
Khusrau I, year 5

It may be an abbraviation of RSIN.

174a. RSIN

Balāsh

This seems to be thn name of a place inscribed in full.

175. RŠT

Khusrau II, years 10, 14

It may be the full name of a town.

176. RT

Khusrau II, years 14, 35

177. RUM

Khusrau 1, year 24

178. S

Balāsh
Jāmāsp, year 1
Kobād I, years 21, 35, 36
Khusrau I, years 1, 6, 11, 39

179. SAǏA

al-Mughīra ibn al-Muhallab, year 71 (A. H.)

Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 134, no. 108) reads this mark as ŠHǏH, and Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxxxiii, no. 64) as ŠAǏA, but the latter considers it as uncertain. The first letter seems to me to be S and not Š.

As al-Mughīra was governor of Istakhr, one of the five great districts of the province of Pārs, in the year A. H. 71, this mint must be located in that district.

180. SD

Fīrūz I, year 6 ; undated
Kobād I, years 12, 33, 43
Khusrau I, years 10, 11, 17, 18, 25, 27-29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37, 42, 44, 45
Hormazd IV, years 3-6, 8, 9, 11, 12
Khusrau II, years 3-7, 10, 11, 21-28, 30, 32, 34-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 26
Bōrān, years 2, 3
Yazdagard III, years 2-11, 13-16, 18-20
Arab-Sāsānian, Yazdagard III type, year 20 (Y. Ê.)
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 26, 28 ?, 37, 38, 45, 48, 61 ?, 63 ? (Y. E.)
'Ubaidallāh ibn *Ziyād*, years 56, 57 ?, 58 ?, 63 (A. H.)
Salm ibn *Ziyād*, year 56 (Y. E.)
Talha ibn 'Abdallāh, years 64, 66 ? (A. H.)
'Abd al-'*Aziz* ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 66 (A. H.)

'Ubaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra, year 79 (A. H.)
'Abdallāh ibn al-Hārith ?, year 66 (A. H.)

Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1879, p. 119, no. 17) has read this mark as IZD, but the interpretation SD, that is Sudd, as proposed by De Morgan (*Revue Numismatique*, 1913, p. 496. 156) is the most probable.

As this mark appears on the coins of Yazdagard III, dated the years 19 and 20, when he was in the distant eastern province of his empire, this mint must be located in the vicinity of Herāt, Merv or Balkh. In support of this fact we have the additional evidence that 'Ubadallāh ibn Ziyād was appointed governor of Khurāsān in the year A. H. 53, and his coins, bearing the mark SD, are dated the year A. H. 56. His coins are also known dated the same year and bearing the mark HRA, that is Herāt in the province of Khurāsān. It is, therefore, almost certain that the location of the mint SD would be somewhere in the eastern part of the province of Khurāsān.

As has been demonstrated above, the numismatic and historic data support the interpretation Sudd, an important borough two farsangs from Merv. The district of Merv played an important rôle during the Sāsānian period and throughout the duration of that dynasty all efforts to check the aggression of the peoples of Central Asia were concentrated in that reigon. It was to the reigon of Merv that Yazdagard III retired, and it was at Merv that he was murdered. He struck coins at Merv in the last year of his reign only, but the mint of Sudd was active throughout his reign. These circumstances would explain the presence of two mints in the same district, one at Merv and the other at Sudd.

After an examination of the whole series of Arab-Sāsānian coins, Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxxix, no. 52) has reached the conclusion that the region where coins bearing the mint-mark in dispute were struck must have been in the province of Sīstān so he interprets the mark as the initial letters of that province, that is either as SD or SK. Because the mint mark RD is to be read as RY, he interprets SD as SI for Sīstān or SK for Sakastān, the old name of Sīstān. This is indeed a peculiar method to interpret a mint-mark. In like manner, the final D of other marks may, by means of a little ingenuity, be made to represent anything the interpreter chooses.

The province of Sīstān was conquered by the Arabs in the year A. H. 23 (=A. C. 643/44), but Yazdagard III issued coins from the mint SD dated the years 19=A. C. 650 and 651 respectively), that is a long time after the province was in the possession of the Arabs. As has been demonstrated above, the mint SD must be located in the eastern province of Khurāsān.

181. SH

Jāmāsp, year 2

182. SI

Fīrūz I, years 6, 7
Kobād I, year 39
Khusrau I year 34
Hormazd IV, year 8
Khusrau II, year 36
Yazdagard III, year 7

183. SIB

Kobād I, year 39

184. SIP

Kobād I, years 34, 35

185. SIT

Khusrau II, years 9, 22

186. SIZAǏTAN

Umaiya ibn 'Abdallāh, year 73 (A. H.)

It is the name of the province of Sīstān inscribed in full. This was the form of the name during the Umaiyad period, the earlier form was SKSTAN.

187. SĴ

Khusrau II, year 6

188. SK

Khusrau I, year 34

189. SKT

Kobād I, year 28

This mark is of doubtful reading, but Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. C.*, 1879, p. 128, no. 61) interprets it as SKT.

190. SMR

Hormazd IV, year 2

191. SNT

Khusrau I, year 45

192. SP

Khusrau II, year 26

193. SPR

Hormazd IV, year 6

194. SŠ

Khusrau II, year 37

195. ST

Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Fīrūz I, year 5; undated
Balāsh
Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, years 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 24–26, 30–37, 39, 40
Khusrau I, years 2, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 20–23, 25, 28–30, 32–36, 38–48
Hormazd IV, years 1–6, 8–12
Khusrau II, years 2–9, 11–17, 23–38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 14, 18, 25–29, 31, 33, 35, 38
Kobād II, year 2
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Bōrān, year 2
Hormazd V, year 2
Khusrau V, year 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, year 31 (Y. E.)
Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 51, 54, 56 (A. H.)
'Ubaidallāh ibn Ziyād, years 52 ?, 59 ?, 60–62 (A. H.)
'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair, years 63 ?, 66 (A. H.)
'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh, years 69, 70. 71 ? (A. H.)
al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra, years 78, 79 ? (A. H.)

This mark is an abbreviation of STHR (Istakhr), the Persepolis of the Greek writers. It was the capital of Istakhr, one of the five great districts of the province of Pārs.

In support of this interpretation we have the evidence that 'Umar ibn 'Ubaidallāh was governor of Pārs from A. H. 67-70, and his coins, bearing the mark ST, are dated the years A. H. 69 and 70.

196. STU

Yazdagard III, year 13

197. SU

Bahrām V
Yazdagard II
Kobād I, years 20, 22, 25, 30–32, 39, 41
Khusrau I, years 18, 25, 26, 29, 36
Khusrau II, year 9

198. SUI

Khusrau II, year 8
The reading of this mark is doubtfull.

199. SUR

Hormazd IV, year 5
The reading of the mark is doubtful.

200. ŠA

Kobād I, years 14, 15
Khusrau I, year 2

201. ŠB

Kobād I, year 31
15, 20, 28, 36, 37

Khusrau I, years 18, 28, 33, 37, 39–41, 44, 45, 47, 48
Hormazd IV, years 7–9, 12
Khusrau II, years 2, 3, 9, 13,
Khusrau II, (AFD on obv. margin), years 11, 15, 23, 27, 28
Ardashīr III, year 1

201a. ŠB

Khusrau II, year 37

202. ŠH

Kobād I, year 30

202a. ŠH

Khusrau II, year 37

203. ŠI

Bahrām IV
Bahrām V
Fīrūz I
Balash
Kobād I, 1st reign
Jāmāsp, years 1, 3
Kobād I, years 12–14, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 35, 37–40
Khusrau I, years 2–5, 7, 8, 19, 30–32, 36–38, 42, 45
Hormazd IV, years 2, 3, 6, 9, 12
Khusrau II, years 1–7, 9–12, 16, 19–39
Khusrau II, (AFD on obv. margin), years 11, 13–18, 23–39
Ardashīr III, year 1
Yazdagard III, year 13
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 29, 30 (Y. E.)
Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān, year 11 (probably an old Sāsānian, reverse die was re-used)
'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir), year 50 (A. H.)
Walker ('B. M. C.', p. cxxviii, no. 49) has suggested the interpretation Shīrajān, an important town in the province of Kirmān. This suggestion seems likely.

204. ŠIR

Kobād I, 1st reign

205. ŠJ

Kobād I, year 17
Khusrau I, year effaced

206. ŠN

Kobād I, year 26

207. ŠR

Khusrau II, years 3, 9, 12

208. ŠS

Kobād I, years 40, 42

209. ŠT

Balāsh

210. ŠU

Bahrām IV

211. ŠUŠ

Undated copper coins of an uncertain Arab governor

It is the Arab al-Sūs, at one time the capital of what later became the province of Khūzistān. During the Sāsānian period the official name of Sūsa was Erān-Khurrah-Shāpūr; no. 13. AIRAN.

212. T

Kobād II, year 2

213. TA

Khusrau I, year uncertain — Khusrau II, year 35

214. TAUT

'Abd al-Azīz ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Amir, year 71 (A. H.)
al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra, year 76 (A. H.)
al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, years 78, 80 (A. H.)

As all coins of Hajjāj were struck at mints in the province of Pārs, the mint TAUT must be located in that province.

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxxx, no. 54) has confused the marks AUT and TAUT, which he wrongly reads as ART and TART respectively. He is of the opinion that these two marks are one and the same and that the initial T of the latter is an added prefix of uncertain value. In support of this theory he cites the coins of Muhallab (dated the year A. H. 76) and Hajjāj (dated the year A. H. 78) struck at Ardashīr-Khurrah (no. 45 here).

In the absence of any corroborative evidence it is difficult to understand how the initial letter T becomes a prefix of uncertain value. No such precedent is to be found in the whole series of Sāsānian and Arab-Sāsānian mint-marks. The instances of the coins of Muhallab and Hajjāj on the contrary prove that the mark in dispute does not indicate Ardashīr-Khurrah, because a mint would not issue simultaneously coins bearing different marks.

215. TJ̌. B

Hormazd IV, year 2

216. TR

Yazdagard II — Hormazd IV, year 10
Khusrau II, year 31

217. TRUNVART

Hormazd IV, years 11, 12

The name of the place is inscribed in full, but it is difficult to locate it.

218. VB

Kobad I, year 28
Khusrau I, year 37

219. VH

Aahrām IV
Bahrām V
Fīrūz I, years 5, 6; undated
Kobād I, 1st reign
Yazdagard I
Yazdagard II
Balāsh
Jāmāsp, years 1, 3
Kobād I, years 11, 13, 16-18, 26, 29, 30, 31, 39
Khusrau I, years 1-48
Khusrau II, years 28-38
Ardashīr III, year 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 25, 28, 35, 37 (Y. E.)

It may be suggested that the mark indicates the town of Veh-az-Andēw-i-Shāpūr, also known an Jundē-Shāpūr, in the province of Khūzistān.

220. VHD

Khusrau II, year 5

221. VIH

Kobād 1, year 18

222. VR

Khusrau I, years 5, 17

223. VRHJ

Khusrau I, year 21

224. VRJ̌

Khusrau I, years 6, 18-20

225. VZD

Kobād I, 1st reign
Kobād I, year 42

226. YJ̌T

Khusrau I, year 23
Hormazd IV, year 23

227. YRI

Khusrau I, year 21

228. YS

Kobād I, year 23

229. YS

'Ubaidallāh ibn *Z*iyād, years 51?, 58-60 (A. H.)
Mus'ab ibn al-*Z*ubair, year 68 (A. H.)

This mark seems to be an abbreviation of no. *229a*. YŠT. Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 132, no. 99) reads this mark as KŠ and takes it to be an abbreviation of KST (no. *229a* here). The initial letter cannot be K, because it is not to be found under this form in the inscriptions on coins.

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxvi, no. 16) interprets the mark in dispute as BŠ?. The initial letter is Y and not B, because the latter is always distinguishable by its tail elongated towards the left; compare no. 230. Y*Z*.

229a. YŠT

*Z*iyād ibu Abī Sufyān, year 52 (A. H.)
'Ubaidallāh ibn *Z*iyād, years 56, 61?, 62-64 (A. H.)
Mus'ab ibn al-*Z*ubair, year 67 (A. H.)

Mordtman (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 132, no. 99) reads this mark as KST, but the letter K is not to be found under this form in the inscriptions on coins.

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxvii, no. 23) interprets the mark as DST?, but epigraphically the initial letter appears to be Y.

230. Y*Z*

Kobād I, years 19, 37, 38
Khusrau I, years 2-48
Hormazd IV, years 1-12
Khusrau II, years 1–38
Khusrau II, (AFD on obv. margin), years 20, 21, 30, 31, 35, 37
Kobād II, year 2
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II, type, year 47 (Y. E.)
'Abdallāh ibn *Z*ubair, year 69 (A. H.)
*Z*iyād ibn Abī Sufyān, years 51–53 (A. H.)
'Abdallāh (ibn 'Amir), year 41 (A H.)
'Ubaidallāh ibn *Z*iyād, years 26 (T. E.), 57 (A. H.)
al-Katarī ibn al-Fujā'a, year 75 (A. H.)
al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra, years 75, 76 ? (A. H.)
Muhammad ibu Musalmān ?, year 40 (era uncertain)

Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 121, no. 30), followed by Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxxxi, no. 57), interprets this mark as *Z*R, that is *Z*aranj, the capital of the province of Sīstān, but the interpretation I*Z*, that is Yazd, an important town in the

province of Pārs, as proposed by Allotte de la Fūye ('Arèthuse', July 1925, p. 92) is the most probable.

In support of the latter interpretation we have the evidence that all coins of Katarī were struck at mints in the province of Pārs and YZ (Yazd) was one of them.

231. *Z*

Hormazd IV, year 9

232. *Z*AIR

Khusrau I, years 29, 39

233. *Z*ANK

'Ubaidallāh ibn *Z*iyād, years 60, 63 (A. H.)

234. *Z*B

Kobād I, year 39
Khusrau I, year 18
Hormazd IV, year 9
Khusrau II, years 6, 7, 11, 31

235. *Z*D

Fīrūz I
Kobād I, 1st reign
Balāsh
Jāmāsp, year 3
Kobād I, years 11, 13, 15-18, 20-24, 27-32, 34, 35, 37-41
Khusrau I, years 2-48
Hormazd IV, years 1-12
Bahrām VI, year 1
Khusrau II, years 1-38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), years 4, 11-13, 16, 17, 24-38
Ardashīr III, years 1, 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Yazdagard III type, year 21 (Y. E.)
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, years 25, 26, 29, 35, 37 (Y.E.)
*Z*iyād ibn Abn Abī Sufyān, years (4) 6?, 52 (A. H.)
'Ubaidallāh ibn *Z*iyād, years 38 (T. E.), 60-63, 68 (A. H.)
Bish ibn Marwān, year 74 (A. H.)
Aslam?, year 67 A. H.)

Mordtmann (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1879, p. 120, no. 23) has interpreted this mark as *Z*D, epigraphically the only possible reading.

Walker (*B. M. C.* p. cxxvi, no. 48) has confused the marks RD and *Z*D. He emphatically states that these mint-marks are almost certainly to be regarded as variants of one and the same mark.

He seems to forget that mere assertion is not conclusive evidence. No instance of the continuous use of a letter and its variant simultaneously has been noticed in the whole series of Sāsānian and Arab-Sāsānian mint-marks. In the incriptions on Sāsānian coins the letter R is not to be found under the form of the initial letter of the mark in dispute as a variant. Epigraphically the marks RD and *Z*D are so distinct that they cannot be confused.

Walker's conception of the letter R is indeed surprising. He reads the marks AUT as ART, BBA as BLH (BRH), DAP as DAR, DP as DR, HUBS as HURA, MB as MR, TAUT as TART, YZ as ZR and ZD as RD.

236. ZDǰ
Kobād I, 13, 40

237. ZDU
Khusrau II, year 10

238. ZM
Yazdagard III, year 20

This mint must be located in the vicinity of Herāt, Merv or Balkh in the province of Khurāsān, because the Persian monarch was in that region during the last year of his reign.

239. ZPASN
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 32

239a. ZPASN
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 35

239b. ZPASN
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 35

240. ZPR
Hormazd IV, year 8

240a. ZPR
Khusrau II, year 4
Hormazd V, year 2

241. ZPU
Khusrau II, year 19

This seems to be the name of a place inscribed in full.

242. ZR
Bahrām IV
Kobād I, year 30
Yazdagard III, year 17
Kobād I, 1st reign
Khusrau II, years 8,10,11,36

242a. ZR
Khusrau I, years 18, 26, 32

242b. ZR
Khusrau II, year 27

242c. ZR
Yazdagard III, years 12, 20

The above three marks are apparently the same as this one. As the mark ZR appears on the coins of Yazdagard III in the last year of his reign, this mint must be located in the eastern part of the province of Khurāsān.

243. ZRA

Hormazd IV, years 2, 9 | Yazdagard III, year 20

This mint must be located in the eastern part of the province of Khurāsān, because Yazdagard III was in that region during the last year of his reign.

244. ZRIB

Hormazd IV, year 9 | Yazdagard III, year 20

As Yazdagard III was in the eastern part of the province of Khurāsān during the last year of his reign, this mint must be located in that region.

245. ZRIH

Khusrau I, year 21

246. ZRM

Khusrau II, years 8, 10, 12
Yazdagard III, year 13
'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ziyād, year 54 (A. H.)
al-Hakam ibn Abi 'l-Ās, year 58 (A. H.)

Walker (*B. M. C.*, p. cxiii, no. 15) interprets this mark as BRM, but he has failed to observe that in Pārsīk the letter B is never joined to the letter which follows it. His conception of the letter B is indeed strange.

246a. ZRM

Yazdagard III, years 12, 13, 20

This mark is not the same as no. 246, though both are composed of the same letters. Their different caligraphy is probably intended to point out that they do not indicate one and the same place.

As this mark appears on the coins of Yazdagard III, dated the year 20, this mint must be located in the vicinity of Herāt, Merv or Balkh in the province of Khurāsān, because the Persian monarch was in that region during the last year of his reign.

247. ZRN

Kobād I, year 15 | Khusrau II, year 2

247a. ZRN

Khusrau II, year 29
This mark appears to be the same as no. 247.

248. ZTB

Hormazd IV, year 6
The interpretation of this mark is doubtful.

249. ZU

Kobād I, 1st reign | Kobād I, years 31, 38

Khusrau I, years 13, 23, 24, 27, 30, 36
Hormazd IV, years 2, 5, 7, 10-12
Khusrau II, years 2, 3, 9-11, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 33-35, 37, 38
Khusrau II (AFD on obv. margin), year 37
Ardashīr III, year 2
Arab-Sāsānian, Khusrau II type, year 35 (Y. E.)
'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, year 30 (Y. E.)

Walker seems undecided in interpreting this mark. On a drachm (*B. M. C.*, p. cxxxi, no. 59; p. 13, no. 20, pl. III. 7) he reads this mark as N or A or *ZU* or S, and on another example (*B. M. C.*, p. cxxxi, no. 58; p. 48, no. 72, Pl. VIII. 9) as BN ? or *ZN* ?.

249a. *ZU*

Khusrau I, year 31
This is the same as no. 249

249 b. *ZU*

Khusrau I, year 2
It is the same as no. 249.

250. *ZUD*

Khusrau I, year 24

251. *ZUPA*

Hormazd IV, year 8

252. *ZUZN*

Hormazd IV, years 2, 6, 9, 12

It may be suggested that this mark is the full name of *Zūzan*, a large town in the district of Abrashahr (Nīshāpūr), one of the four quarters of the province of Khurāsān.

252a. *ZUZN*

Hormazd IV, year 6

This is the same as no. 252, but in a retrograde form.

252b *ZUZN*

Hormazd IV, years 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 12

It is the same as no. 252, the vertical stroke at the end being redundant.

252c. *ZUZN*

Hormazd IV, year 6

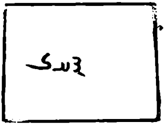
This mark is the same as no. 252b, but in a retrograde form.

252d. *ZUZN*

Hormazd IV, year 6

It is the same as no. 252; the two vertical strokes at the end are redundant.

252e. *ZUZUJ̌N*
Kobad I, year 63
Supplementary



253. KAR
Yazdagard I

After the plates were prepared and the treatise was completed, I acquired two remarkable drachms of Yazdagard I, one of which bears the mark KAR.

The marks no. 97, KA and no. 253, KAR may be the abbreviations of no. 98. KARH.

We give below in a tabular form the identifications of the mint-marks suggested above.

No.	Mint-Mark	Name	Province
5	AHM	Ahmatān (Hamadhān)	Jibāl
13	AIRAN	Ērān-Khurrah-Shāpūr (Sūsa)	Khūzistān
27	APR	Abrashahr (Nīshāpūr)	Khurāsān
27a	APRŠ	,, ,,	,,
27b	APRŠT:	,, ,,	,,
28	APRVAN	Abiravān?	,,
32	ARJ̌N	Arrajān	Pārs
36	ASP	Aspadana (Ispahān)?	Jibāl
45	AUT	Ardashīr-Khurrah (Ut)	Pārs
49	BBA		Khurāsān
54	BIŠ	Bīshāpūr	Pārs
55	BJ̌		Khurāsān
56	BJ̌RA	Basra	'Irāq
58	BN		Khurāsān
59	BOST	Bost?	Sīstān

No.	Mint-Mark	Name	Province
69	D		Khurāsān
70	DA	Dārābgard	Pārs
70a	DAR	"	"
70b	DARAPKR	"	"
70c	DA-P	Sub-mints in the district of Dārābgard	"
70d	DA-ZAUM		"
70e	DA-?		"
72	DAP		"
78	DP		"
88	HR	Herāt	Khurāsān
88a	HRA	"	"
93	HUBS		"
94	HUǏ	Khūj?	Khūzistān?
95	HURASAN	Khurāsān	Khurāsān
100	KNǏA	Kanja or Ganja?	Arrān
101	KR	Kirmān	Kirmān
101a	KRMAN	"	"
101b	KRMANI	"	"
101c	KRMAN-AǏR	Sub-mints in the province of Kirmān	Kirmān
101d	KRMAN-APZ		"
101e	KRMAN-APZI		"
101f	KRMAN-AT		"
101g	KRMAN-AUN		"
101h	KRMAN-BǏ		"
101i	KRMAN-NAR		"
101j	KRMAN-NAUS		"
101k	KRMAN-SI		"
101l	KRMAN-SRA		"
102	KVAT	Kavāt-Khurrah	Pārs
103	KVI BBA		Khurāsān
103a	KVN BBA		"
104	KVN RIU	Rēw-Ardashīr	Pārs
108	MB		Khurāsān
112	MR	Merv	"
112a	MRV	"	"
112b	MRV̄	"	"
114	MRVRUT	Merv al-Rudh	"
123	NAR		"
130	NH	Nihāvand (Māh al-Basra)	Jibāl
132	NHR	Nahr-Tīrā	Khūzistān
135	NIHǏ		Pārs

No.	Mint-Mark	Name	Province
142	NRVAN	Mahravān ?	ʻĪrāq
151	PALH —		Khurāsān
155	PSA	Pasā ?	Pārs
157	RAM	Rām-Hormuz-Ardashīr	Khūzistān
158	RAMA	Rām-Ardashīr	Pārs
162	RD	Raiy	Jibāl
171	RIU	Rēw-Ardashīr	Pārs
179	SAJ̌A	Sājā ?	,,
180	SD	Sudd	Khurāsān
186	SIZAJ̌TAN	Sīstān	Sīstān
195	ST	Istakhr	Pārs
203	ŠI	Shīrajān ?	Kirmān
211	ŠUŠ	Sūsa	Khūzistān
214	TAUT	Tāūt ?	Pārs
219	VH	Veh-az-Andēw-i-Shāpūr ?	Khūzistān
230	YZ	Yazd.	Pārs
238	ZM		Khurāsān
242c	ZR		,,
243	ZRA		,,
244	ZRIB		,,
246a	ZRM		,,
252	ZUZN	Zūzan ?	,,

We give below for ready reference the different mint-marks occurring on the coins of different rulers arranged in a tabular form. Dated and undated coins have been separately grouped.

BAHRĀM IV

Undated

4	AH	54	BĪŠ	103	KVI BBA
11	AIR	69	D	103a	KVN BBA
34	AS	70	DA	106	MA
35	ASH	70a	DAR	150	PA
36	ASP	70b	DARAPKR	162	RD
39	AT	85	H	163	RDI
41	ATU	88	HR	171	RIU
42	AU	97	KA	203	ŠI
43	AUH	98	KARH	210	ŠU
47	BA	99	KIN	219	VH
49	BBA	101	KR	242	ZR
50	BHR				

YAZDAGARD I

Undated

4	AH	54	BIŠ	97	KA
8	AI	70	DA	253	KAR
11	AIR	73	DH	101	KR
34	AS	82	GNR	104	KVN RIU
36	ASP	86	HI	162	RD
39	AT	87	HNA	163	RDI
42	AU	88	HR	174	RS
49	BBA			219	VH

BAHRĀM V

Undated

2	AB	70	DA	112a	MRV
8	AI	80	GI	130	NH
34	AS	88	HR	162	RD
36	ASP	89	HRI	171	RIU
39	AT	97	KA	174	RS
42	AU	101	KR	195	ST
49	BBA	106	MA	197	SU
51	BI	108	MB	203	ŠI
52	BIGN	112	MR	219	VH

YAZDAGARD II

Undated

4	AH	80	GI	112	MR
8	AI	82	GNR	148	NU
34	AS	83	GO	162	RD
36	ASP	88	HR	195	ST
39	AT	97	KA	197	SU
42	AU	106	MA	216	TR
49	BBA	108	MB	219	VH

FĪRŪZ I

Dated years 3 to 8

2	AB	70	DA	171	RIU
8	AI	89	HRI	180	SD
34	AS	108	MB	182	SI
42	AU	112	MR	195	ST
49	BBA	162	RD	219	VH

Undated

2	AB	54	BIŠ	116	NA
3	AD	55	BJ̌	126	NB
4	AH	64	BU	130	NH
8	AI	68	BZT	133	NI
9	AIB	70	DA	140	NRDI
11	AIR	80	GI	141	NRJ̌
15	AIT	83	GO	152	PI
18	AM	88	HR	156	RA
22	ANT	97	KA	157	RAM
30	AR	101	KR	162	RD
34	AS	105	M	167a	RI
36	ASP	105a	M	171	RIU
39	AT	106	MA	180	SD
42	AU	108	MB	195	ST
44	AUM	110	MI	203	ŠI
45	AUT	112	MR	219	VH
47	BA	115	MŠ	235	ZD
49	BBA				

BALĀSH

Undated

2	AB	80	GI	117b	RIU
4	AH	83	GO	174a	RSIN
8	AI	101	KR	178	S
11	AIR	126	NB	195	ST
34	AS	130	NH	203	ŠI
39	AT	162	RD	209	ŠT
42	AU	167a	RI	219	VH
44	AUM	169	RIN	235	ZD
45	AUT	117a	RIU		

KOBĀD I (1st reign)

Undated

1	A	42	AU	97	KA
2	AB	44	AUM	101	KR
4	AH	45	AUT	105	M
8	AI	46	B	105a	M
11	AIR	49	BBA	106	MA
15	AIT	58	BN	108	MB
18	AM	70	DA	126	NB
34	AS	79	DR	130	NH
36	ASP	80	GI	139	NR
39	AT	83	GO	148	NU

162	RD	195	ST	225	VZD
170	RIR	203	ŠI	235	ZD
171	RIU	204	ŠIR	242	ZR
174	RS	219	VH	249	ZU

JĀMĀSP

Dated years 1 to 3

1	A	47	BA	112	MR
2	AB	49	BBA	130	NH
4	AH	54	BIŠ	156	RA
8	AI	65	BUA	174	RS
11	AIR	66	BUBU	178	S
18	AM	80	GI	181	SH
34	AS	101	KR	203	ŠI
36	ASP	106	MA	219	VH
39	AT	108	MB	235	ZD
42	AU				

KOBĀD I (2nd reign)

Dated years 11 to 43

1	A	53	•BIST	94a	HUJ̌
2	AB	54	BIŠ	97	KA
3	AD	55	BJ̌	101	KR
4	AH	58	BN	106	MA
5	AHM	61	BS	108	MB
8	AI	62	BST	109	MD
9	AIB	62a	BST—	112	MR
11	AIR	62b	BST—	126	NB
13	AIRAN	63	BŠA	127	NBI
15	AIT	67	BZ	128	ND
18	AM	68	BZT	129	NDJ̌
21	AN	70	DA	130	NH
27	APR	75	DINAN	134	NIH
30	AR	75a	DINAV	135	NIHJ̌
33	ARM	76	DINAS	148	NU
34	AS	76a	DINNAS	154	PR
36	ASP	77	DINAT	156	RA
37	AST.	79	DR	157	RAM
39	AT	80	GI	162	RD
42	AU	81b	GNJ̌KR	167	RI
45	AUT	88	HR	167a	RI
49	BBA	90	HRJ̌	171	RIU
51a	BIA	92	HRNI	171b	RIU

171c	RIU	200	ŠA	225	VZD
174	RS	201	ŠB	228	YS
178	S	202	ŠH	230	YZ
180	SD	203	ŠI	234	ZB
182	SI	205	ŠJ̌	235	ZD
183	SIB	206	ŠN	236	ZDJ̌
184	SIP	208	ŠS	242	ZR
189	SKT	218	VB	247	ZRN
195	ST	219	VH	249	ZU
197	SU	221	VIH	252e	ZUZUJ̌Ň

KHUSRAU I

Dated years 1 to 48

1	A	53	BIST	121	NAIJ̌
2	AB	54	BIŠ	123	NAR
4	AH	55	BJ̌	126	NB
5	AHM	57	BJ̌Š	128	ND
8	AI	58	BN	129	NDJ̌
11	AIR	59	BOST	130	NH
12	AIRA	62	BST	131	NHJ̌
13	AIRAN	62b	BST—	134	NIH
14	AIS	63	BŠA	135	NIHJ̌
15	AIT	64	BU	137	NIŠ
17	AJR	65	BUA	138	NIT
18	AM	66	BUBU	141	NRJ̌
19	AMA	68a	BZT	143	NS
20	AMIU	70	DA	145	PR
23	AP	79	DR	157	RAM
27	APR	80	GI	162	RD
30	AR	81a	GNJ̌	170	RIR
33	ARM	83	GO	171	RIU
34	AS	88	HR	174	RS
36	AŠP	90	HRJ̌	177	RUM
37	AST	94	HUJ̌	178	S
39	AT	97	KA	180	SD
42	AU	101	KR	182	SI
45	AUT	106	MA	188	SK
46	B	108	MB	191	SNT
49	BBA	112	MK	195	ST
50	BHR	113	MRVB	197	SU
51a	BIA	120	NAHJ̌	200	ŠA

201	ŠB	223	VRHJ̌	235	ZD
203	ŠI	224	VRJ̌	242a	ZR
205	ŠJ̌	226	YJ̌T	245	ZRIH
213	TA	227	YRI	249	ZU
218	VB	230	YZ	249a	ZU
219	VH	232	ZAIR	249b	ZU
222	VR	234	ZB	250	ZUD

HORMAZD IV

Dated years 1 to 13

1	A	84	GURAN	166	RHV
2	AB	88	HR	171	RIU
4	AH	89	HRI	171c	RIU
5	AHM	91	HRM	180	SD
8	AI	96	J̌AR	182	SI
11	AIR	101	KR	190	SMR
13	AIRAN	105a	M	193	SPR
16	AJ̌	107	MADA	195	ST
18	AM	108	MB	199	SUR
19	AMA	111	MIB	201	SB̌
24	APAU	112	MR	203	SǏ
26	APN	119	NAH	215	TJ̌B
27	APR	123	NAR	216	TR
29	APU	124	NARNJ̌	217	TRUNVART
30	AR	126	NB	226	YJ̌T
33	ARM	130	NH	230	YZ
39	AT	134	NIH	231	Z
42	AU	135	NIHJ̌	234	ZB
45	AUT	139	NR	235	ZD
50	BHR	141	NRJ̌	240	ZPR
54	BIŠ	142	NRVAN	243	ZRA
55	BJ̌	145	NSR	244	ZRIB
58	BN	146	NŠH	248	ZTB
60	BPR	154	PR	249	ZU
63	BŠA	157	RAM	251	ZUPA
70	DA	159	RAN	252	ZUZN
79	DR	162	RD	252a	ZUZN
80	GI	164	RHJ̌	252b	ZUZN :
81	GN	165	RHM	252c	ZUZN :
83	GO			252d	ZUZN :

Year 13. No. 83, GO ; No. 154, PR ; No. 162, RD

BAHRĀM VI

Dated years 1 and 2

2	AB	108	MB	135	NIHǰ
13	AIRAN	112	MR	235	ZD
31	ARI	126	NB		

Year 2—31, ARI ; 112, MR

BISTĀM

Dated years 2 to 6 and 10

162. RD

KHUSRAU II

Dated years 1 to 39

1	A	45	AUT	111a	MIB
2	AB	46	B	112	MR
3	AD	47	BA	117	NAB
4	AH	48	BB	118	NAD
5	AHM	49	BBA	119	NAH
6	AHR	51b	BIAB	120	NAHǰ
7	AHT	54	BIS	122	NAǰ
8	AI	55	Bǰ	123	NAR
10	AIM	58	BN	125	NAT
11	AIR	63	BŠA	126	NB
12	AIRA	69a	D	128	ND
13	AIRAN	70	DA	130	NH
18	AM	71	DAD	132	NHR
22	ANT	74	DIN	134	NIH
25	APH	79	DR	135	NIHǰ
27	APR	80	GI	135a	NIHǰǰ
28	APRVAN	81	GN	136	NIHM
29	APU	83	GO	139	NR
30	AR	85	H	144	NSH
33	ARM	88	HR	145	NSR
34	AS	94	HUǰ	147	NT
36	ASP	97	KA	149	NUB
38	AŠM	101	KR	153	PIR
39	AT	106	MA	154	PR
42	AU	108	BM	155	PŠA

156	RA	176	RT	219	VH
157	RAM	180	SD	220	VHD
158	RAMA	182	SI	230	YZ
160	RAP	185	SIT	234	ZB
161	RAV	187	SǏ	235	ZD
161a	RAV	192	SP	237	ZDU
162	RD	194	SŠ	239	ZPASN
167	RI	195	ST	239a	ZPASN
168	RIǏ	197	SU	239b	ZPASN
168a	RIǏ	198	SUI	240	ZPR
171	RIU	201	ŠB	241	ZPU :
171c	RIU	201a	ŠB	242	ZR
171d	RIU	202a	ŠH	242b	ZR
171c	RIU	203	ŠI	246	ZRM
172	RIUM	207	ŠR	247	ZRN
173	RM	213	TA	247a	ZRN
175	RŠT	216	TR	249	ZU

Year 2 (type I).—54, BIŠ ; 70, DA ; 108, MB ; 135, NIHǏ

Year 4 (AFD on obv. margin).—134, NIH ; 235, ZD

Year 39.—70, DA ; 108, MB ; 154, PR ; 203, ŠI

Year 39 (AFD on obv. margin).—46, B ; 154, PR ; 203, SI

KOBAD II

Dated year 2

5	AHM	54	BIŠ	195	ST
13	AIRAN	58	BN	212	T
42	AU	70	DA	230	YZ
45	AUT	135	NIHǏ		

ARDASHIR III

Dated years 1 and 2

2	AB	45	AUT	130	NH
5	AHM	54	BIŠ	134	NIH
10	AIM	58	BN	135	NIHJ
11	AIR	63	BŠA	141	NRJ
13	AIRAN	70	DA	154	PR
27	APR	108	MB	157	RAM
33	ARM	112	MR	162	RD
39	AT	123	NAR	171	RIU
42	AU	126	NB	171c	RIU

195	ST	219	VH	249	*ZU*
201	ŠB	230	Y*Z*		
203	ŠI	235	*Z*D		

Year 2 (type I) :—

2	AB	70	DA	171	RIU
13	AIRAN	126	NB	195	ST
45	AUT	130	NH	219	VH
54	BIŠ	162	RD	235	*Z*D

BŌRĀN

Dated years 1 to 3

18	AM	108	MB	180	SD
42	AU	135	NIHJ̌	195	ST
101	KR	141	NRJ̌		

HORMAZD V

Dated years 1 and 2

13	AIRAN	88	HR	161	RAV
42	AU	108	MB	195	ST
49	BBA	135	NIHJ̌	240a	*Z*PR
58	BN				

KHUSRAU V

Dated year 2

13	AIRAN	134	NIH	195	ST
130	NH	135	NIHJ̌		

YAZDAGARD III

Dated years 1 to 20

42	AU	55	BJ̌	70	DA
45	AUT	58	BN	108	MB
49	BBA	69	D	112	MR

123	NAR	182	SI	242c	ZR
126	NB	196	STU	243	ZRA
135	NIHJ̌	203	ŠI	244	ZRIB
171c	RIU	238	ZM	246	ZRM
180	SD	242	ZR	246a	ZRM

Year 19.—

49	BBA	58	BN	180	SD
55	BJ̌	123	NAR		

Year 20.—

49	BBA	112	MR	242c	ZR
55	BJ̌	123	NAR	243	ZRA
58	BN	180	SD	244	ZRIB
69	D	238	ZM	246a	ZRM
108	MB				

ARAB-SĀSĀNIAN

Yazdagard III type

Year 20.—58, BN ; 112, MR ; 123, NAR ; 183, SD
Year 21.—235, ZD

Khusrau II type

5	AHM	89	HRA	171	RIU
11	AIR	108	MB	180	SD
13	AIRAN	111	MIB	195	ST
45	AUT	112	MR	203	ŠI
47	BA	123	NAR	219	VH
54	BIŠ	126	NB	230	YZ
55	BJ̌	130	NH	235	ZD
70	DA	134	NIH	249	ZU
78	DP	162	RD		

(i) Mu'āwiya

70, DA 72, DAP

(ii) 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān

45, AUT ; 70c, DA-P ; 70e, DA-? ; 112b, MAV

(iii) 'Abdallāh ibn al-Zubair

45	AUT	101d	KRMAN-APZI	101k	KRMAN-SI
70	DA	101f	KRMAN-AT	101l	KRMAN-SRA
70c	DA-P	101i	KRMAN-NAR	195	ST
70e	DA-?	101j	KRMAN-NAUS	230	YZ
101b	KRMANI				

(iv) *Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān*

5	AHM	78	DP	195	ST
27a	APRŠ	102	KVAT	203	ŠI
54	BIŠ	126	NB	229	YŠT
56	BJRA	132	NHR	230	YZ
70	DA	134	NIH	235	ZD

(v) Samura ibn Jundab

72, DAP

(vi) 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir

45	AUT	70	DA	132	NHR
54	BIŠ	78	DP	249	ZU

(vii) 'Abdallāh (ibn 'Āmir)

54	BIŠ	78	DP	132	NHR
58	BN	100	KNJA	203	ŠI
70	DA	130	NH	230	YZ

(viii) 'Ubaidallāh ibn *Ziyād*

11	AIR	56	BJRA	180	SD
12	AIRA	70	DA	195	ST
13	AIRAN	101c	KRMAN-AJR	229	YŠ
27	APR	101d	KRMAN-APZ	229a	YŠT
40	ATRA	101i	KRMAN-NAR	230	YZ
47	BA	101j	KRMAN-NAUS	233	ZANK
49	BBA	126	NB	235	ZD
54	BIŠ	146	NŠH		

(ix) 'Ubaidallāh (ibn *Ziyād*)

88a, HRA

(x) Salm ibn *Ziyād*

27b	APRŠT	70	DA	114	MRVRUT
45	AUT	88a	HRA	151	PALH-
49	BBA	112b	MRV	180	SD

(xi) 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn *Ziyād*

32, ARJN; 58, BN; 132, NHR; 246, ZRM;

(xii) al-Hakam ibn Abi'l-'Ās

32, ARJN; 132, NHR; 153, PIR; 246, ZRM

(xiii) 'Abdallāh ibn Khāzim

27b, APRŠT; 49, BBA; 93, HUBS; 112b, MRV; 114. MRVRUT

(xiv) Muhammad ibn 'Abhallāh (ibn Khāzim)

88a, HRA

(xv) Talha ibn ʻAbdallāh
180, SD

(xvi) ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz ibn ʻAbdallāh ibn ʻĀmir
180, SD; 214, TAUT

(xvii) ʻAbd al-Malik ibn ʻAbdallāh (ibn ʻĀmir)
54, BIŠ

(xviii) ʻUmar ibn ʻUbaidallāh (ibn Miʻmar)

45	AUT	56	BǰRA	135	NIHǰ
54	BIŠ	101a	KRMAN	195	ST

(xix) Musʻab ibn al-Zubair

56	BǰRA	101i	KRMAN-NAR	229	YŠ
101g	KRMAN-AUN	130	NH	229a	YŠT

(xx) Mukātil ibn Mismaʻ
54, BIŠ

(xxi) al-Mughīra ibn al-Muhallab (ibn Abī Sufra)
179, SAǰA

(xxii) Umaiya ibn ʻAbdallāh
49, BBA; 93, HUBS; 95, HURASAN; 114, MRVRUT; 186; SI*Z*AǰTAN

(xxiii) Khalīd ibn ʻAbdallāh
54, BIŠ; 56, BǰRA

(xxiv) Bishr ibn Marwān
235, *ZD*

(xxv) ʻUbaidallāh ibn Abī Bakra
180, SD

(xxvi) Humrān ibn Ahān
45, AUT

(xxvii) ʻAtīya ibn al-Aswad

101a.	KRMAN	101h.	KRMAN-Bǰ
101g.	KRMAN-AUN	101i.	KRMAN-NAR

(xxviii) al-Katarī (ibn al-Fujāʻa)

45.	AUT	70d.	DA-*Z*AUM
54.	BIŠ	230.	Y*Z*

(xxix) al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra

45.	AUT	70.	DA	195.	ST	230.	Y*Z*
54.	BIŠ	101i.	KRMAN-NAR	214.	TAUT		

(xxx) ʻAbd al-Rahmān ibn Muhammad
54, BIŠ; 70, DA

(xxxi) al Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf
45, AUT; 54, BIŠ; 214, TAUT

(xxxii) ʻal-Rahmān (ibn ʻAbdallāh ?)
40, ATRA; 45, AUT

(xxxiii) Uncertain Governor
45, AUT

(xxxiv) Muhammad ibn Musalmān ?
(Uncertain Governor)
230, YZ

(xxxv) Aslam ? (Uncertain Governor)
235, ZD

(xxxvi) Kahtān ? (Uncertain Governor)
88a, HRA

(xxxvii) 'Abnallāh ibn al-Hārith ?
(Uncertain Governor)
180, SD

(xxxviii) Rabī' ibn Ziyād ?
(Uncertain Governor)
Reading of mint-mark uncertain,
year 39 (Y. E.)
year 39 (Y. E.)

We give below for ready reference a table showing the reign periods of the Sāsānian kings, whose mint-marks have been discussed in this paper.

Name of the king	Duration of Reign	Beginning of 1st regnal year		
Bahrām IV	388—399	16	Aug.	388
Yazdagard I	399—420	14	,,	399
Bahrām V	420—438	8	,,	420
Yazdagard II	438—457	4	,,	438
Fīrūz I	459—484	30	Jul.	459
Balāsh	484—488	24	,,	483
Kobād I (ist reign)	488—497	22	,,	488
,, (2nd reign	499—531	,,	,,	,,
Jāmāsp	497—499	20	,,	496
Khusrau I	531—579	12	,,	531
Hormazd IV	579—590	30	Jun.	578
Bahrām VI	590—591	27	,,	590
Bistām	590—529	,,	,,	,,
Khusrau II	590—628	,,	,,	,,
Kobād II	628	18	,,	627
Ardashīr III	628—630	17	,,	628
Bōrān	630—631	,,	,,	629
Hormazd V	631—632	,,	,,	631
Khusrau V	632	,,	,,	,,
Yazdagard III	632—651	16	,,	632

Below is given a table showing the changes in the Persian New Year's day during the period, 388—632 A.D.

Persian New Year's Day			Persian New Year's Day			Persian New Year's Day			Persian New Year's Day		
16	Aug.	388	31	Jul.	452	15	Jul.	516	30	Jun.	576
15	,,	392	30	,,	456	14	,,	520	29	,,	580
14	,,	396	29	,,	460	13	,,	524	28	,,	584
13	,,	400	28	,,	464	12	,,	528	27	,,	588
12	,,	404	27	,,	468	11	,,	532	25	,,	592
11	,,	408	26	,,	472	10	,,	536	25	,,	596
10	,,	412	25	,,	476	9	,,	540	24	,,	600
9	,,	416	24	,,	480	8	,,	544	23	,,	604
8	,,	420	23	,,	484	7	,,	548	22	,,	608
7	,,	424	22	,,	488	6	,,	552	21	,,	612
6	,,	428	21	,,	492	5	,,	556	20	,,	616
5	,,	432	20	,,	496	4	,,	560	19	,,	620
4	,,	436	19	,,	500	3	,,	564	18	,,	624
3	,,	440	18	,,	504	2	,,	568	17	,,	628
2	,,	444	17	,,	508	1	,,	572	16	,,	632
1	,,	448	16	,,	512						

The Persian year contains twelve months of thirty days each, with five additional days at the end of the year, that is a total of 365 days. The Persian New Year's day recedes back by one day in the Christian year whenever the latter is a leap-year.

The table belows gives the dates of the New Year's days of the different years of the Yazdagard and Tabaristān eras during our period. Y. E. = Yazdagard Era ; T.E. = Tabaristān Era.

Y. E.	T. E.	Beginning	Y. E.	T. E.	Beginning	Y. E.	T. E.	Beginning
1		Tuesday 16 Jun. 632	26	7	10 Jun. 657	51	32	4 Jun. 682
2		,, ,, 633	27	8	,, ,, 658	52	33	,, ,, 683
3		,, ,, 634	28	9	,, ,, 659	53	34	3 ,, 684
4		,, ,, 635	29	10	9 ,, 660	54	35	,, ,, 685
5		15 ,, 636	30	11	,, ,, 661	55	36	,, ,, 686
6		,, ,, 637	31	12	,, ,, 662	56	37	,, ,, 687
7		,, ,, 638	32	13	,, ,, 663	57	38	2 ,, 688
8		,, ,, 639	33	14	8 ,, 664	58	39	,, ,, 689
9		14 ,, 640	34	15	,, ,, 665	59	40	,, ,, 690
10		,, ,, 641	35	16	,, ,, 666	60	41	,, ,, 691
11		,, ,, 642	36	17	,, ,, 667	61	42	,, ,, 692
12		,, ,, 643	37	18	7 ,, 668	62	43	,, ,, 693
13		13 ,, 644	38	19	,, ,, 669	63	44	,, ,, 694
14		,, ,, 645	39	20	,, ,, 670	64	45	,, ,, 695
15		,, ,, 646	40	21	,, ,, 671	65	46	31 ,, 696
16		,, ,, 647	41	22	6 ,, 672	66	47	,, ,, 697
17		12 ,, 648	42	23	,, ,, 673	67	48	,, ,, 698
18		,, ,, 649	43	24	,, ,, 674	68	49	,, ,, 699
19		,, ,, 650	44	25	,, ,, 675	69	50	31 ,, 700
20	1	Sunday 12 Jun. 651	45	26	5 676	70	51	701
21	2	11 ,, 652	46	27	,, ,, 677	71	52	,, ,, 702
22	3	,, ,, 653	47	28	,, ,, 678	72	53	,, ,, 703
23	4	,, ,, 654	48	29	,, ,, 679	73	54	,, ,, 704
24	5	,, ,, 655	49	30	4 ,, 680	74	55	,, ,, 705
25	6	10 ,, 656	50	31	,, ,, 681	75	56	,, ,, 706

The table below gives the dates of the New Year's days of the different years of the Hijra Era during our period. A.H. denotes the Hijra Era.

A.H.	Beginning			A.H.	Beginning			A.H.	Beginning		
1	Friday 16.	Jul.	622	29	14.	Sep.	649	57	14.	Nov.	676
2	5.	,,	623	30	4.	,,	650	58	3.	,,	677
3	24.	Jun.	624	31	24.	Aug.	651	59	23.	Oct.	678
4	13.	,,	625	32	12.	,,	652	60	13.	,,	679
5	2.	,,	626	33	2.	,,	653	61	1.	,,	680
6	23.	May	627	34	22.	Jul.	654	62	20.	Sep.	681
7	11.	,,	628	35	11.	,,	655	63	10.	,,	682
8	1.	,,	629	36	30.	Jun.	656	64	30.	Aug.	683
9	20.	Apr.	630	37	19.	,,	657	65	18.	,,	684
10	9.	,,	631	38	9.	,,	658	66	8.	,,	685
11	29.	Mar.	632	39	29.	May	659	67	28.	Jul.	686
12	18.	,,	633	40	17.	,,	660	68	18.	,,	687
13	7.	,,	634	41	7.	,,	661	69	6.	,,	688
14	25.	Feb.	635	42	26.	Apr.	662	70	2 .	Jun.	689
15	14.	,,	636	43	15.	,,	663	71	15.	,,	690
16	2.	,,	637	44	4.	,,	664	72	4.	,,	691
17	23.	Jan.	638	45	24.	Mar.	665	73	23.	May	692
18	12.	,,	639	46	13.	,,	665	74	13.	,,	693
19	2.	,,	640	47	3.	,,	667	75	2.	,,	694
20	21.	Dec.	640	48	20.	Feb.	668	76	20.	Apr.	695
21	10.	,,	641	49	9.	,,	669	77	10.	,,	696
22	30.	Nov.	642	50	29.	Jan.	670	78	30.	Mar.	697
23	19.	,,	643	51	18.	,,	671	79	20.	,,	698
24	7.	,,	644	52	8.	,,	672	80	9.	,,	699
25	28.	Oct.	645	53	27.	Dec.	672	81	26.	Feb.	700
26	17.	,,	646	54	16.	,,	673	82	15.	,,	701
27	7.	,,	647	55	6.	,,	674	83	4.	,,	702
28	25.	Sep.	648	56	25.	Nov.	675	84	24.	Jan.	703

TREASURE TROVE FINDS IN THE PUNJAB IN 1944-5

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

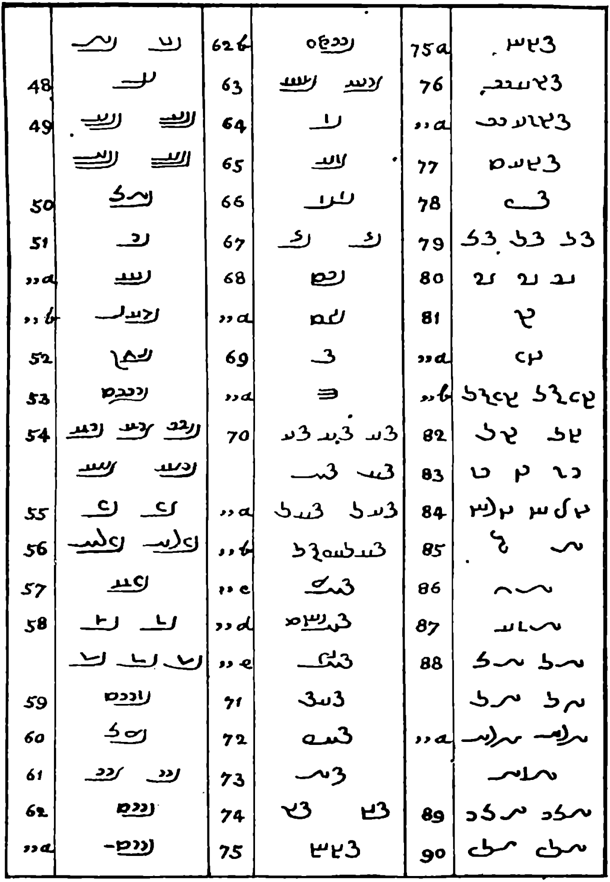
A copy of his report kindly sent to me by Maulvi Shamsuddin Ahmad, Hon. Numismatist to the Government of the Punjab, shows that three treasure troves were discovered in the province during the year 1944-5. Here is a summary of the report :—

1. Kanri Kalan Temple Hoard, Jagdhari tehsil, Ambala district. Found buried under the foundation of the temple, the hoard contained 151 silver coins of which one was of Ahmad Shah, one of an Indian state and 149 of the East India Company issued under the name of Shah Alam. Nothing noteworthy.

2. Pakpatan tehsil hoard (Montgomery dist.). Found in a crown waste land, the hoard contained one copper and nine gold pieces, of which 8 were of Muhammad III Tughlaq and 2 of Firoz III Tughlaq.

3. Arfabad (Pakpatan tehsil, Montgomery dist.) hoard contained 68 silver coins, of which 63 were of Shah Jahan, 4 of Aurangzeb and one of Muhammad Shah. It is interesting to note that though the hoard was buried in the Punjab, the coins represented in it hailed from mints widely distant from each other like Qandahar, Multan, Lahore, Surat, Jnnagadh, Patna, Akbarnagar (present Rajmahal) and Jahangirnagar (present Dacca). The earliest coin in the hoard is of Shahjahan, dated 1628 A.D., and the latest of Muhammad Shah, dated 1721 A.D.

Mint-marks on Sāsānian and Arab-Sāsānian Coins.
(With their variations).



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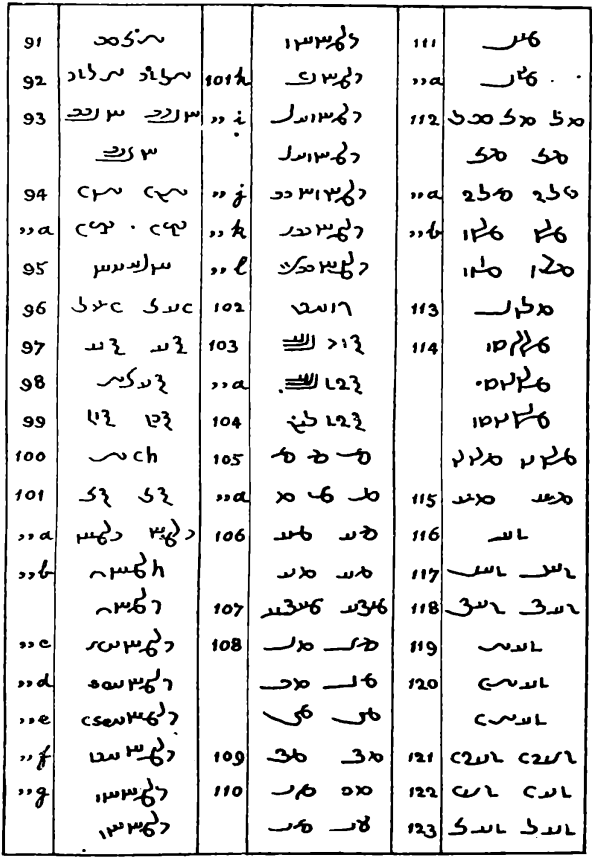

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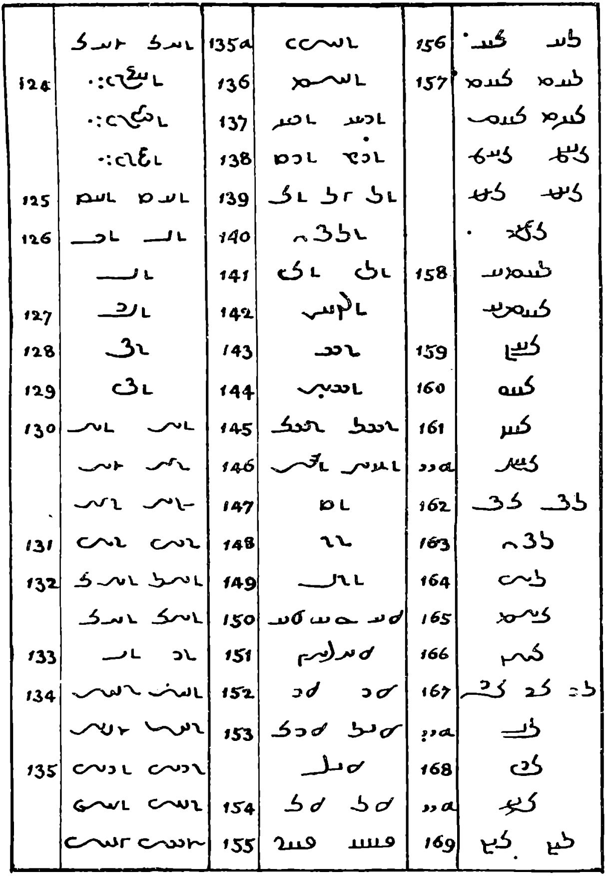

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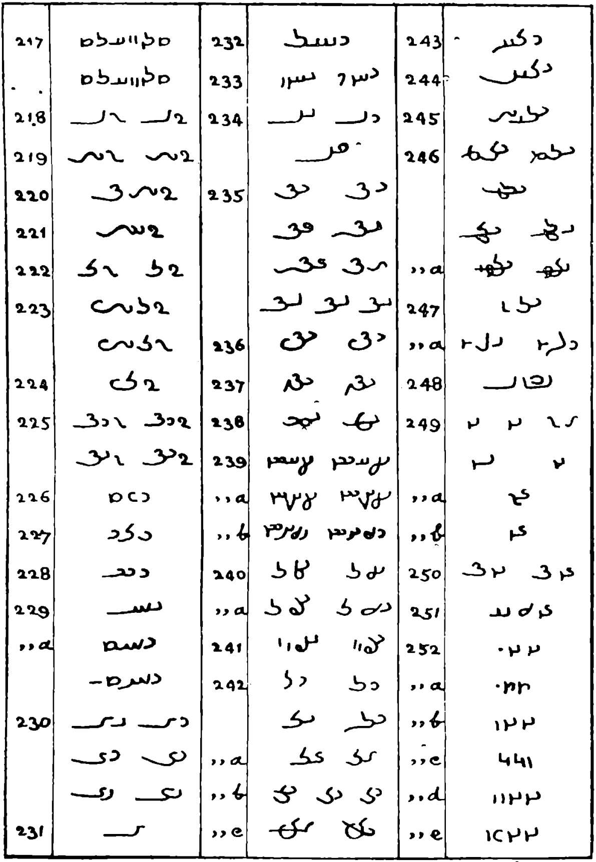

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